THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN INDIAN EDUCATION

BY

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To my teacher
LALA MAHANAND GUPTA

PREFACE

QUITE a large number of books has been written by foreigners on the subject of modern Indian education, but it is very difficult sometimes to agree with their assessment of the British achievement in this sphere. It is only in recent years that Indian writers have also turned their attention to this subject. In 1940, Shri K S. Vakil enlarged his pamphlet, *Education in India—Modern Period* into a book. His plan of giving "a summary of events in a connected chronological order" has been accepted by almost all subsequent writers. Messrs Nurullah and Naik wrote their *History of Education in India During The British Period* in 1943, and Shri A. N. Basu, his *Brief Review of Education in Modern India* in 1945, on essentially the same plan The former book gives a much fuller account of the subject and quotes extensively from the various reports of the Education Commissions and Committees appointed by the Government of India from time to time. Recently Shri S. N. Mukerji of Baroda has also brought out his *History of Education in India* (Modern Period) written on the same plan.

My book has been planned on different lines. During the course of my lectures to the B.Ed. classes of the University of Rajputana I realised that if I took up a certain period, dealt with all the aspects of education in that period, discussing the educational reports that were brought out during that period in their entirety, the students at the end of the session did not get a clear idea of the development of the various aspects of Indian education. The books mentioned above, being written on the same plan, did not seem to help them much. So I began to take up one aspect of Indian education (such as Primary Education or Secondary Education) at a time and dealt with its pro-

blems and development throughout the entire British period. This plan succeeded so well with my classes that I was encouraged to write the present book for the B.T., B.Ed., L.T., and M.Ed. students of Indian Universities, without ignoring the needs of the intelligent general reader interested in the subject.

I have also not followed the usual practice of quoting long passages from the original sources but have generally quoted only relevant sentences and phrases, weaving them into my own sentence patterns and argument. But where necessary, I have also condensed important educational documents in their own words. The sources have been given in each case either in the text itself or in the footnotes. This method has at once enabled me to give the authority for my statements and carry my arguments ahead, without any awkward pause in the development of my theme.

The scheme of Basic National Education, notable educational experiments in the country and recent educational developments after Independence have been dealt with in some detail.

I should like to express my indebtedness to all the writers whom I have quoted or referred to in support or refutation of certain standpoints. In every case I have mentioned the source in my book. Occasionally, in this backward part of India, original documents were not available and so I had to depend on other books where they were quoted or reproduced. In such cases also, I have acknowledged my indebtedness to the writers concerned. I am grateful to Dr K. L. Shrimali, Principal, Vidya Bhawan Teachers' College, Udaipur, whose inspiring example of a life-time's hard work for the noble cause of Indian education alone sustained me in my effort to complete this book in the face of great difficulties. I should also like to thank my friend and colleague, Shri T. N. Dhar,

for helping me in correcting the proofs of nearly a third of the book.

I hope this book will meet the long felt need of all students of modern Indian education.

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Udaipur,
July 1, 1955

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PART ONE

THE BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION AT THE TIME OF THE ADVENT OF THE EUROPEANS

ALTHOUGH the indigenous systems of education, both Hindu and Muslim, as they prevailed in India at the time of the advent of the Europeans did not influence the modern system of Indian education to any great extent, yet a knowledge of the state of education in the country at that time is very necessary for a proper understanding of later developments.

During the pre-Mughal Muslim rule in India, Hindu institutions of higher learning suffered heavily. "We have harrowing tales of old Universities broken up, libraries looted and the votaries of indigenous learning, Hindu or Buddhist, murdered or driven away homeless".[1] Qutbuddin's lieutenant, Bakhtiyar, destroyed the Buddhist monastic University of Vikramshila in Behar and Nadia, the political and intellectual capital of Bengal. But the destruction of the Hindu temples and educational institutions occurred mainly in large cities where mosques, monasteries and madrasahs sprang up in their stead. Although deprived of state support and royal patronage, the educational institutions of the Hindus continued to thrive during the Muslim period owing to the generous help from private sources. So when the Europeans first came to India by the sea-route towards the end of the 15th century, there

[1] N N Law *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, p. xvi.

spread over the whole country a network of educational institutions of all grades, both Hindu and Muslim.

No authoritative account exists of the extent of education in India during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. The European powers during these years were too busy with trade and with consolidating their own position to think of the education of the Indian people. As late as 1822 Sir Thomas Munro in his famous Minute said:

"We have made geographical and agricultural surveys of our provinces, we have investigated their resources, and endeavoured to ascertain their population, but little or nothing has been done to learn the state of education. We have no record to show the actual state of education throughout the country."

But when by the Charter Act of 1813 the British East India Company was made responsible for the education of the Indian people, inquiries into the state of indigenous education were made in the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal. It is from these official inquiries that we get some idea of the state of education early in the 19th century. If we make allowances for what education must have suffered during the years of political unrest and disturbance consequent on the decline of the Mughal power, we have a picture of Indian education at the time of the advent of the Europeans

There were two types of indigenous schools.

(a) Elementary Schools

and (b) Schools of Higher Learning.

Hindu Elementary Schools

Very few schools had a building exclusively used for the purpose of teaching pupils Schools were generally held in temples, private dwellings or sheds and occasionally in the houses of teachers who conducted them. "They

were all purely private ventures, springing up and vanishing according to local demand."[2] Although most of the teachers were Brahmins, members of other castes were not excluded from the profession. They were generally poorly paid, their remuneration, according to Bombay reports, ranging from two to five rupees a month besides some occasional small gifts of grains. But the teachers were held in great respect by the common people, and were invited by rich families to dine on the occasions of certain festivals and marriages.

Children belonging to all castes, except the lowest, studied at these schools. According to T B. Jervis who wrote about the South Konkan District, "their hours of attendance at school or any place of instruction are irregular, their holidays exceedingly numerous, and the occasions for absence and neglect of study extremely disproportionate to those in European schools .... .a too great fondness and indulgence of their children are failings common to both people (Hindus & Muslims)."[3]

The ages of the children at these elementary schools ranged between 7 and 12 years and the period of their stay varied from one to three years.

Instruction was generally confined to the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic. No printed text-books were available and manuscripts were rare. So the knowledge of the boys was very elementary, although it does seem to have served their general purpose in life.

In many single-teacher schools with a large number of scholars, the "monitorial system" was followed, i.e., advanced students taught their less advanced fellow-students. This system was later introduced in England by Dr. Andrew Bell

[2] R V. Parulekar *Survey of Indigenous Education in the Prov' of Bombay* (1820–1830), p xxii
[3] *Ibid*, quoted by Parulekar, p. xxix.

Since the instruction in these elementary schools was of a very low standard, many children were taught at home by their fathers, brothers or other relatives. These centres of domestic instruction have been completely ignored in official reports. Quite a large number of students were reading in schools of higher learning, and most of them did not attend the common elementary schools. They must have received their early instruction in Sanskrit at home from their relatives or private tutors.

Girls, as a rule, were not sent to the elementary schools which were almost exclusively meant for boys

Muslim Elementary Schools

The elementary schools of the Muslims had a religious bias Being intensely religious, the Muslims desired the ability to read the Quran written in Arabic. Instruction was usually given through the medium of Persian and so these schools were also called "Persian schools". The Muslim boys, therefore, had to work harder and stay longer at these schools References are also found in some Bombay reports to the fact that in some schools Hindustani (Urdu) was also taught and used as a medium for explanation of Arabic texts.

Muslim teachers were better paid, probably because their number was small.

Muslim boys, where they were not in adequate strength to have schools exclusively for themselves, attended the elementary Hindu schools.

Hindu Schools of Higher Learning

The Hindu schools of higher learning were called *Pathshalas* in Western India and *Tols* in Bengal where an elementary school was called a *Pathshala.*

Both the teachers and the scholars belonged almost entirely to the Brahmin community, although the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas were not excluded from the study of the Vedas.

One peculiarity of the indigenous system was that the two kinds of institutions, elementary and higher, seemed to thrive independently of each other Those who aspired to higher learning—knowledge of the Sanskrit language and literature—did not generally receive elementary education in the common schools. On the basis of the information supplied by the Khandesh report, Parulekar concludes that "for every 5 boys in the elementary schools there were 3 in the schools of higher learning."[4] Such a large proportion of scholars in schools of higher learning shows to what extent education was given at home privately, since very few of these scholars attended the common elementary schools.

In about 1801, Hamilton found as many as 190 centres of higher learning in the Twenty-four Pergunnahas, 150 in the Hoogli District and 119 in the Purnea District According to Ward there were in 1818, 28 Tols in Calcutta and 31 Tols in Nadia In 1829 Dr. Wilson estimated that there were 25 Tols in Nadia with a strength of 500 or 600 scholars.[5]

Muslim Schools of Higher Learing

There were schools of higher learning among the Muslims as there were among the Hindus Arabic and Persian literature, logic, theology, etc, were taught there. Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Ajmer, Jaunpur, Dacca, Murshidabad, Allahabad and Bijapur were famous for their Madrasahs.

[4] *Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay*, p xlv.

[5] Quoted by S. N. Mukerji· *History of Education in India*, p. 50

There also existed at Surat a famous College for the Bohras It provided instruction in Arabic to 125 scholars at a annual cost of Rs. 3,200/- met wholly from privat donations.

After this brief general account of the nature of indi genous education, let us study the various official report of the presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, to ge some idea of the extent of education that prevailed at th beginning of the 19th century.

The State of Education in the Madras Presidency

Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, directed the Collectors of his province to report on the education o the natives in their respective districts. Of these reports that of A. D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, submitted in 1823, is the most comprehensive and representative. The district of Bellary with a population of 927,857 had only 533 schools with a total strength of 6,641 scholars, out o whom 6,398 were Hindus including 60 girls, and only 243 Muslims "The English language was taught in one school only; the Tamil in four, the Persian in 21, the Mahratta in 23, the Telegoo in 226, and the Carnataca in 235". There were also, besides these, 23 places of instruction for Brahmins exclusively, teaching theology, astronomy logic and law through the medium of the Sanskrit language Campbell describes how a Hindu boy at the age of five began his education by repeating after a teacher "a prayer to Gunasee, entreating wisdom". Students generally stayed at the school for five years, in several cases "as long as 14 or 15 years". Punctuality at school was praised, while late coming was punished. Flogging, suspension "by both hands and a pulley, to the roof", making guilty students "kneel down and rise incessantly" etc. were some of the modes of punishment. The lower classes were

"partly under the care of monitors, whilst the higher ones are more immediately under the superintendence of the master who at the same time has his eye upon the whole school". "The number of classes is generally four, and a scholar rises from one to the other according to his capacity and progress." The alphabet was learnt by students by tracing the letters with their fingers on the sand-covered ground. With the acquisition of some skill in writing, they passed on to the use of iron style and cadjan leaves or reed and paper. Wooden boards smeared with rice and pulverized charcoal were also used.

From the letters the students passed on to combine symbols of vowels with consonants to form syllables, then to write compounds, names of men, villages, animals etc. They also did easy sums in addition and subtraction, multiplication and division They learnt by heart "the arithmetical tables in addition, multiplication and threefold measures of capacity, weight and extent" by first standing in rows class-wise, and repeating the whole after one of the monitors

Mr. Campbell praised the method and also pointed out its defects in the following words

"The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools and the system by which the more advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserved the imitation it has received in England. The chief defects in the native schools are the nature of the books and learning taught, and the want of competent masters"

The tuition fees paid by scholars ranged from a quarter of a rupee a month, in the case of beginners, to half a rupee or more, in the case of more advanced students Even this small amount was beyond the means of most parents whose children remained "only partially instruct-

ed" Among the causes of this general poverty Campbell mentions this. "The means of the manufacturing classes have been of late years greatly diminished by the introduction of our own English manufactures in lieu of the Indian cotton fabrics."

Formerly, says Campbell, the state of education had been more satisfactory: "In many villages where formerly there were schools, there are now none, and in many others where there were large schools, now, only a few children of the most opulent are taught, others being unable from poverty to attend or to pay what is demanded". The reason for this decline according to the Collector of Bellary was the absence of Government help and encouragement

"There is no doubt," he says, "that in former times, especially under the Hindu Governments, very large grants, both in money and in land, were issued for the support of learning". But "of the 533 institutions for education now existing in this District, I am ashamed to say, not one now derives any support from the State"[6]

Campbell goes on to suggest a remedy He proposed that when a person holding alienated lands died, an inquiry should be held, and if the lands were not hereditary, the holdings should be resumed for the benefit of a fund called the school fund, which should be used to cover the expenses of new schools and to extend the system

Campbell's report concentrates on the formal schools existing at that time and does not take into consideration the much larger number of students that must have been receiving education at home. This fact was emphasized by the collector of another district named Kanara.

"The late principal Collector (of Kanara) reported that education is conducted in that district so much in private, that any statement of the number of schools, and of scholars

[6] A D Campbell's report in *The Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company,* Vol 1. (Summarised)

attending them not only would be of little or no use, but on the contrary fallacious, in forming an estimate of the proportion of the population receiving instruction."[7]

This should be regarded as a corrective to Campbell's report upon which too much reliance was placed by Sir Philip Hartog in his anxiety to disprove Mahatma Gandhi's contention that the percentage of literacy had fallen during the period of British rule in India

Sir Thomas Munro's Summing up

When the reports of the different Collectors were received, Sir Thomas Munro summed up the results in 1826. "From these reports it appears that the number of schools, and of what are colleges, in the territories under this Presidency, amount to 12,498, and the population to 12,850,941; so that there is one school to every 1,000 of the population, but as only a very few females are taught in schools we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population." He criticises the conclusion reached by the Board of Revenue that out of a population of twelve million and a half only 188,000, or only one person in 67, received education He argues that females should be left out, indeed, only males of the school-going age, between the ages of 5 and 10 years, should be included If this group of children is reckoned at one-ninth of the male population, the number of all such boys in Madras would be 713,000. "But the number actually attending the school is only 184,110 or a little more than one fourth of that number .. .. . I am, however, inclined to estimate the proportion of the male population who receives education to be nearer to one-third than one-fourth of the whole, because

[7] *Selections from the Record of the Government of Madras*, Appendix C, para. 10, quoted by Messrs Nurullah & Naik in their *History of Education in India* (1951 edition), p 6

we have no returns from the provinces of the number taught at home." This state of education, though worse than the then existing condition in England, was better than that prevailing in most European countries a short time back. A teacher did not ordinarily earn more than six or seven rupees a month—an amount that could not possibly attract the right type of persons to the profession. Among the causes of the bad state of education were. (a) lack of encouragement, (b) lack of demand for it, and (c) poverty of the people.

The contradiction between the review (based on all the Collectors' reports) by Sir Thomas Munro of the state of education in the entire Presidency and the report of only one Collector, A. D Campbell, for his own district has led Sir Philip Hartog to have grave doubts as to the accuracy of these (Munro's) figures

"But it is remarkable that A. D Campbell who was singled out by the Court of Directors of the East India Company as 'the only one among the collectors from whom much information has been derived concerning the quality of the instruction given at the elementary schools' gave figures for Bellary far below the average reported by Munro "[8]

It may be pointed out that Campbell's report was singled out by the Directors not probably because of the greater accuracy of its figures for population, schools and scholars but because of its other valuable information. Moreover, Sir Philip conveniently ignores the testimony of the Collector of Kanara to the effect that the exclusion of students receiving instruction privately would make the official figures not only "of little or no use, but on the contrary fallacious" Munro himself was conscious of it and made allowance for it in his review.

[8] Sir Philip Hartog *Some Aspects of Indian Education* (1939), p 72

Again, Munro was not new to India. Before he became Governor of Madras in 1820, he had had forty years' experience, partly as a soldier and partly as a civil servant, in India. He had been a District Officer in several districts of Madras Presidency, including the district of Kanara. He had also been for some time the Principal Collector of the ceded Districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool with four Collectors to assist him So he brought to his Minute not only the information supplied to him by his collectors but also his first-hand personal knowledge.

The State of Education in Bombay

What Munro did for Madras was done by Elphinstone for Bombay The results of the inquiry completed in 1829 have been summarised by Sir Philip Hartog as follows

"In a report of 1829 it was stated that in the Presidency there were in all 1,705 schools with 35,143 scholars for 4,681,735 inhabitants, or say, one school for 2,700 inhabitants in round figures, and that, as in Madras, there was little trace of female education Twenty-five schools with 1,315 scholars were maintained by Government, and there were 1,680 village schools with 33,838 scholars"[9]

Sir Philip Hartog also quotes[10] Mr. G. L Prendergast, a member of the Bombay Executive Council, only to dismiss his statement as a myth Mr. G. L. Prendergast in his Minute of 1821 said, "I need hardly mention what every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more, many in every town and in larger cities in every division, where young natives are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic." The method followed was both

[9] *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p 11.
[10] *Ibid*, pp 71-2

'economical' and 'effectual' with the result that every cultivator or petty dealer could keep his own accounts as accurately as most people of the same status in England.

While in the case of Madras, Sir Philip Hartog seems to give more value to one Collector's report about the district of Bellary than to the official summing up of the whole situation by Sir Thomas Munro, in the case of Bombay, on the other hand, he dismisses as myth, the Bombay Executive Councillor's statement because Warden's official review contradicts it. Sir Philip Hartog seems more anxious to disprove Mahatma Gandhi's thesis by marshalling favourable statements for the support of his view than to follow the facts where they lead one. I am not here supporting Mahatma Gandhi's contention against Sir Philip's attack, but only pointing out that the latter's account of the state of education in Bombay based on the official report of 1829 is wrong While the official report of 1829 mentions only 1,705 indigenous schools with 35,143 scholars in the Presidency of Bombay, the Indian Education Commission in 1881-2 found there no fewer than 3,954 indigenous schools with 78,205 pupils. The number of both the schools and the pupils must have been considerably larger in 1829. Again, Mountstuart Elphinstone's Minute of 1824 bears testimony to the existence of a very large number of educated people in the Deccan. "The present abundance of people of education is owing to the demand there was for such persons under the Maratha Government. The cause has now ceased, the effect will soon follow, and unless some exertion is made by the Government, the country will certainly be in a worse state under our rule than it was under the Peshwas. I do not confine this observation to what is called learning, which, in its present form, must unavoidably fall off under us, but to the humbler acts of reading and writing, which, if left to themselves, will decline among the Brahmins with-

out increasing among the other castes." And this is what has actually taken place in spite of Sir Philip's fallacious proofs to the contrary.

The State of Education in Bengal

The Rev. William Adam, a missionary, seems to have been the first person in Bengal to press for an inquiry into Indian Education. He wrote two letters to Lord William Bentinck, one in 1829 and the other in 1835, before the investigation was ordered by the Governor-General In his Minute of 1835, Lord William Bentinck admits that it "seems an universally admitted axiom that education and the knowledge to be imparted by it can alone effect the moral regeneration of India," but "there is one very material fact still wanting to be known, the actual state of Native education." He therefore appointed Adam for the purpose, on a consolidated monthly allowance of Rs. 1,000/- for all expenses except travelling charges. Adam submitted three reports published separately in 1835, 1836 and 1838. In 1868 the Rev. J. Long brought out all these together under the title. *Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar submitted to Government in 1835, 1836 and 1838, with a brief view of its present condition by the Rev. J Long* (Calcutta 1868). Relevant sections from Long's editions will be used here.

Adam's First Report of 1835

This report was based mainly on the information that had been collected by others. Adam made it clear that it did not rest on his own observation or authority. From the statistical material at his disposal, Adam concluded that there were 100,000 "indigenous elementary schools" in Bengal and Behar. He also quotes two

statements that confirm his own conclusion reached independently from other sources. It is not true, I think, as Sir Philip Hartog makes out, to say that Adam's conclusion was based only on the two statements quoted by him Adam himself talks of one of these statements "confirming" his estimate. The two statements quoted by Adam as additional proofs of his estimate of 100,000 schools in Bengal and Behar are:

(1) "A distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction in a minute on the subject expressed the opinion that if one rupee per mensem were expended on each village school in the Lower Provinces, the amount would probably fall little short of 12 lakhs of rupees per annum. This supposes that there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar, and assuming the population of those two provinces to be 40,000,000 there would be a village school for every 400 persons"

(2) "The estimate of 100,000 of such schools in Bengal and Behar is *confirmed* by a consideration of the number of villages in those two provinces Their number has been officially estimated at 150,748, of which, not all, but most have each a school. If it be admitted that there is so large a proportion as a third of the villages that have no schools, there will still be 100,000 that have them."

On the basis of certain figures from Persian statistical records, Adam concludes that the Indian children of the school-going age (i e. between the ages of 5 or 6 and 10 or 11 years) is 16% of the total population He therefore concluded that for every 400 persons there would be about 64 pupils of the school-going age Leaving out girls, there was thus one school for about 32 boys.

Adam is careful to point out "that these calculations from uncertain premises are only approximations to the truth," but he wanted to emphasize that "the system of village schools is extensively prevalent."

Adam's Second Report of 1836

In this report Adam deals with the population and instruction in the district of Rajshahi, specially the *thana* (or police sub-division) of Nattore which was "decidedly in advance of all the other *thanas*." With the help of his staff Adam made an educational survey, including a census of literacy, of the *thana* of Nattore.

With a population of 185,409 souls, Nattore had 27 "indigenous elementary schools" (11 Hindu with 192 scholars, and 16 Muslim with 70 scholars) and 38 "indigenous schools of learning", all Hindu, with 397 scholars almost all aged 14 years or more.

Adam also calculated that 1,588 families in 238 villages out of a total of 485 in the whole *thana* of Nattore gave their children domestic education of a sort He could not complete his literacy census, but has given interesting classifications and figures The adult male population above 14 years of age numbered 59,500 who were classified as follows.

1.	Teachers of the schools of learning	39
2.	Persons who have received "complete or incomplete learned education"	88
3.	Students at the schools of learning	397
4.	Persons with a knowledge superior to mere reading or writing	3,255
5.	Persons "who can either sign their names or read imperfectly or perhaps can do both"	2,342
	Total no. of literates	6,121

The percentage of adult male literacy comes to 9 72

Besides these valuable statistics, Adam also gives interesting accounts of schools, methods of teaching, domestic

education, women's education etc. He describes how occasionally several village *Chowdharies* combined to have a teacher for their children. As they could not together raise an adequate sum, other children from the neighbourhood also came to sudy with their small gifts of money or eatables Thus the school was run with the combined efforts of several families. It was generally held in a portion of the house belonging to a rich family.

The remuneration of a teacher in Persian schools ranged from four to ten rupees per month Printed books were unknown, but manuscripts were more frequently used. Like Hindu boys, Muslim boys also began their education with a ceremony in which verses from the Koran were repeated after the teacher. At school certain chapters of the Koran, *Pandnameh* and *Gulistan* of Sadi and *Amadanameh* formed the main items of story Elegant penmanship was considered a great accomplishment, and pupil spent from three to six hours daily in the exercise of thi art.

Domestic education of a very elementary nature wa given to children in certain well-to-do families It was no infrequently confined to the reading and writing o Bengali, and addition and subtraction "with scarcely an of the applications of numbers to agricultural and commercial affairs" Adam says, "Farmers and traders naturally limit their instruction to what they best know, and what is to them and to their children of greatest direct utility, the calculations and measurements peculiar to their immediate occupations"

Adam complains of people's poverty and mentions about a dozen cases where the village schools had to be discontinued because of the people's inability to raise adequate money for a teacher's remuneration.

About women's education Adam says, "Absolute and hopeless ignorance is, in general, their lot. The notion of

providing the means of instruction for female children never enters into the minds of parents; and girls are usually deprived of that imperfect domestic instruction which is sometimes given to boys." Some Zamindars taught their daughters writing and accounts because their knowledge might be helpful in case of widowhood when they would be required to manage their deceased husbands' estates. The Muslims shared all the prejudices of the Hindus against the instruction of their girls, and their greater poverty deprived their women of any education even where it was desired.

Adam's Third Report of 1839

In his third report, Adam obtained complete statistics of the number of schools of different kinds in the districts of Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan, South Behar and Tirhut. While Adam personally conducted the investigation in one *thana* of each district, he had to rely upon his assistants for information about other *thanas.* Even these assistants had to rely in many cases upon their personal knowledge or information supplied to them by others, because it was "physically impossible" for them to visit all the villages in a district "amounting to several thousand." Again, people were sometimes frightened, and kept back information about women or actually, "concealed themselves to escape the dreaded inquisition" So at best Adam's figures should be regarded as approximations to the truth.

Murshidabad (including the city and Daulatbazar *Thana*) with a population of 186,841 had altogether 113 schools (62 Bengali, 5 Hindi, 24 Sanskrit, 17 Persian, 2 Arabic, 2 English, 1 for girls) with a total strength of 1,396 scholars of whom only 28 were girls. Birbhum with a population of 1,267,067 had altogether 544 schools (407 Bengali, 5 Hindi, 56 Sanskrit, 71 Persian, 2 Arabic, 2 Eng-

lish and 1 for girls) with 7,350 scholars in all out of whom only 11 were girls. Burdwan with a population of 1,187,580 had altogether 931 schools (630 Bengali, 190 Sanskrit, 93 Persian, 11 Arabic, 3 English and 4 for girls) with 15,814 scholars, including 175 girls studying in them. South Behar with a population of 1,340,610 had 605 schools (286 Hindi, 27 Sanskrit, 279 Persian, 12 Arabic and 1 English) with altogether 5,036 scholars reading in them. Tirhut with a population 1,697,700 had altogether 374 schools (80 Hindi, 56 Sanskrit, 234 Persian and 4 Arabic) with 1,319 students, all boys, reading there

Sir Philip Hartog takes great pains to show that Adam's estimate of one school for every 400 inhabitants was contradicted by his later investigations embodied in his second and third reports. He shows that if Adam's basis of one school for 400 inhabitants was correct, he should have found 467 schools instead of 113 in Murshidabad, 3,168 schools instead of only 544 in Birbhum, 2,969 schools instead of 931 in Burdwan, 3,352 schools instead of 605 in South Behar; and 4,244 schools instead of only 374 in Tirhut. Thus Sir Philip Hartog reaches the conclusion that the existence of a hundred thousand schools in Bengal and Behar was only a myth.

I have already said that Adam could personally investigate the educational conditions of only one *thana* of each district. Educational statistics of all other *thanas* were collected by his assistants His assistants did not take into consideration the domestic centres of education where in a Zamindar's house a teacher taught the Zamindar's children together with other children from the neighbourhood. They seem to have thought of collecting information about full-fledged schools with several classes of children. Adam's figures quoted above refer to such formal schools. But in the *thanas* which Adam took for his personal investigation, he did take care to find out the domestic centres of

domestic education also. He found no fewer than 216 domestic schools of private instruction in Murshidabad city, 254 in the *thana* of Daulatbazar, 207 in the *thana* of *Nangha*, 219 in the *thana* of Culna, 203 in the *thana* of Jehanabad and 164 in the *thana* of Bhawara. No fewer than a total of 2,414 children studied at all these centres. If these domestic schools are also included, we have more schools than the number calculated at the rate of one school for every 400 individuals of the population. So the existence of a hundred thousand schools in Bengal and Behar was not a myth after all.

"Max Muller, on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were more than 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that 'in every Hindu village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system, as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared.'"[11] *(See page 20 for footnote)*

In order to refute Mahatma Gandhi's contention about the fall in the percentage of literacy in India during the period of British rule, Sir Philip Hartog summarised Adam's literacy census of selected Areas of Bengal and Behar as follows:—

Area	*Adult Population*	*Adult Male Population*	*Adult Male Literate Population*	*Percentage of Literate males on the whole population*	*Percentag[e of] Literate m[ales] on the m[ale] Populati[on]*
City of Murshidabad	97,818	46,670	6,640	6 8	14 2
Thana of Daulatbazar	42,837	20,222	1,206	2.8	6.0
Thana of Nanglia	30,410	14,414	993	3 3	6 9
Thana of Culna	81,045	38,974	4,958	6 1	12 7
Thana of Jehanabad	57,573	29,936	1,831	3 2	6 1
Thana of Bhawara	44,416	23,224	768	1 7	3 3
Thana of Nattore	120,928	59,500	3,779	3 1	6 35
Totals	475,027	232,940	20,175,	4 25	8 7

He then compares these percentages with those from th census of 1931 and concludes that "the literacy percentag had rather more than doubled."[12]

We have already seen, in discussing Adam's literac figures for the *thana* of Nattore, that there was a class o people who could sign their names and read imperfectly This class of people numbered as many as 2,342 while th total number of all other classes of literate people wa 3,779. Sir Philip Hartog conveniently ignores this larg number of people who could read imperfectly, but these must have been included in the census of 1931. If th last class is also taken into consideration, the literacy per centage of male adults on the whole popuation of Nattore in 1835-1836 comes up to about 10%. And when we make allowance for people's fear of the inquiry mentioned by Adam, and that many facts were kept back, Hartog's thesis is at least not as perfect as he imagines Moreover, the literacy percentage in India in 1941 also ranged from 5 p.c to 15 p c in different areas This must have been true of Adam's time also Indeed, Sir Philip Hartog's analysis o Adam's figures for seven areas shows variations between 3.3 p.c. and 14 2 p.c. So even if we take Hartog's faulty calculations at their face value, they cannot be regarded as applicable to the whole of Bengal and Behar, much less to the whole of India.

Adam also gives interesting accounts of the native Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic schools of learning.

There were 190 Sanskrit schools of learning with 1,358 scholars in the district of Burdwan. A teacher received on an average the sum of Rs 63/4/5 every year. Only two teachers held endowments of land, one amounting to eight and the other to ten bighas of land Most of the school

[11] Keir Hardie *India*, p. 5, quoted by Major B D Basu in his book *Education in India under the E.I Company*, pp 16-17.
[12] Sir Philip Hartog *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p 85

houses had been built with the help of the contributions from the people in the neighbourhood. Grammar was the most popular subject studied by more than 50 per cent of the students, next in popularity came law and then literature.

The number of Arabic and Persian schools in the district of South Behar was 291 out of which only 12 were Arabic schools. The teachers' average income per head came up to 5 2 rupees a month. In another district called Shuruati, a Persian teacher also received a small additional sum of money when one of his students began a new book. But a school book was usually changed once a year, and so this income was nominal. There were altogether 1,424 Persian scholars (865 Hindus and 559 Muslims) and 62 Arabic students (2 Hindus and 60 Muslims). The students entered Persian schools generally at the age of 7 plus and left them at the age of about 21 years.

The State of Education in the Punjab

After the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, several inquiries of a conflicting nature, both official and non-official, were made into the condition of education there. G W. Leitner, who was a great oriental scholar and who had occupied several positions of responsibility in the administration of the Punjab during the latter half of the 19th century, made personal inquiries into, and studied official reports about, the state of education in the province. He was also placed on "special duty" with the Education Commission of 1882. He said that what was left of indigenous education in 1882 was not one-tenth of what existed in 1849. As this statement of Leitner militates violently against the position taken up by Sir Philip Hartog in his controversy with Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Philip Hartog brings together extracts to prove that Leitner's conclusions were

as wild as Adam's about Bengal. In the absence of many original sources of information, it is not possible to reach the truth about the real state of affairs Even Sir Philip's extracts from various sources which are of a conflicting nature can prove anything only if you give greater credit to some reports and ignore others. Let us first describe the general educational condition there, according to the various reports.

There were three kinds of schools in the Punjab—Hindu schools, Sikh schools and Muslim schools. The great majority of these schools taught sacred books "written in a classical phraseology, unintelligible to both teacher and pupil " "It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Punjab The girls and teachers (also females) belonged to all the three great tribes namely, Hindoo, Mussulman and Seikh " The remuneration of the teachers was variable and precarious and consisted of presents of grain and sweetmeats Cash allowances were also contributed by most families according to their income.

While education in other parts of India was confined to a few castes like Brahmins, Bunyas and Kayasthas, in certain areas of the Punjab, however, education was imparted chiefly to the agricultural population.[13]

The confusing statistics of indigenous schools in the Punjab, as given in different reports, gave much trouble to the Hunter Commission of 1882.

According to the "Report on the Administration of Public Affairs in the Punjab territories from 1854-5 to 1855-56 (inclusive)", as analysed by Sir Philip Hartog,[14] the following seven divisions of Cis-Sutlej States, Trans-Sutlej States, Lahore, Jehlam, Leia, Multan, and Peshawar to-

[13] Extracts from the Report (1849-51) of the Board of Administration as given by Philip Hartog in his book *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p 93, have been summarised

[14] *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p. 96

ment school, that he is no longer contented with his father's way of living, and that he is of no use to him in the field or at the carpenter's bench. The agriculturists fall back therefore on the indigenous schools, and poor as the education in most of them is, are willing to pay for it."[16]

Thus there is reason to believe that Leitner's contention was right. Indeed, Hunter himself said about Leitner's method of investigation: "After a scrutiny of the statistical method employed by Dr. Leitner, I could detect nothing in them which raised a presumption against their accuracy."

In the face of all this evidence, it is surprising to find Sir Philip Hartog make such a baseless accusation as the following:

"Leitner's treatment of figures was worse than reckless. He draws attention to satistics which can be made to square with his beliefs, and omits others to be found in the same document which do not square with them."

If one deletes the first sentence, one is likely to find the charge more true of Sir Philip Hartog's method. I have already pointed out his deliberate omission of that large class of people who could read imperfectly, included in Adam's literacy census of Nattore, to bring down the literacy percentage in comparison with that in 1931 wherein it is certain that such persons were included.

Critical Observations

In his speech at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi said, "I say, without fear of my figures being challenged successfully, that to-day India is more illiterate than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, and and so is Burma, because the British administrators, when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they were, began to root them out."

[16] Sir Philip Hartog *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p. 105.

genous schools in India. Indeed, some other Company officials had greater reasons to underrate them so that their own little educational effort might appear quite large.

It is interesting to note that Sir Philip Hartog doubts the accuracy of Munro's figures on the ground that Campbell's statistics were different. He gives credit to this part of Campbell's report and ignores another part which does not suit him. Campbell also bore testimony to the fact that many indigenous village schools had disappeared. Hunter, the president of the Indian Education Commission of 1882, in his *Indian Musalman* shows how, as a result of British policy about land tenures till 1846, "hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of Musalmans, which was entirely maintained by rent-free grants, received its death-blow." I have already quoted Keir Hardie who gave the views of Max Muller and Ludlow on the subject Messrs Nurullah and Naik in their *History of Education in India*[17] quote the late Mr. M.R. Paranjpe:

"Officials and publicists who belong to this century and who have no personal knowledge of the educational conditions of the country in the middle of the 19th century are unwilling to believe that there ever were schools in villages where modern Departments of Education find it impossible to maintain them. They cannot conceive of simple instructional centres maintained by the villagers jointly or by rich landlords individually, by paying the teachers in kind. But officials and non-officials who lived in the fifties and sixties of the last century have, like Adam, admitted the existence of a school in every village. At the beginning of the 19th century, there existed a fairly wide-spread organization for Primary Education in most parts of India. In Madras Presidency, Sir Thomas Munro found 'a primary school in every village' (Mill· *History of*

[17] p 22 (1951 edition).

British India, Vol. I, P. 562, 4th edition). In Bengal, Ward discovered that 'almost all villages possessed schools for teaching reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic' (Ward. *View of the Hindoos,* Vol. 1, p. 160). In Malva, which was for more than half a century suffering from continuous anarchy, Malcolm noticed that 'every village with about a hundred houses had an elementary school at the time of its coming under the British suzerainty' (Malcolm: *Memoirs of Central India and Malva,* Vol. II, p. 150)."

R. V. Parulekar[18] has shown the unreliability of the official reports upon which Sir Philip Hartog's refutation of Mahatma Gandhi's contention is based Even as late as 1882 it was not possible to collect statistics of Indian indigenous educational institutions and their scholars with any fair amount of reliability. An enquiry was conducted by the Government in the Punjab in connection with the Indian Education Commision of 1882 The figures were challenged, and so a second enquiry had to be set up In the second estimate the number of schools increased three times and that of scholars two and a half times[19] Too much reliance, therefore, cannot be placed upon the official reports The evidence of responsible persons who had opportunities to see things for themselves are not to be dismissed as "myths" on the basis of such unreliable official underestimates. The truth must lie somewhere beween the two.

Again the content of education in the indigenous elementary schools has been severely criticised as worthless "Nothing can be more contemptible than the instruction given at these schools," said the Judge of Surat[20] in his

[18] *Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay* (1820-1830), pp. xvii-xxi

[19] *Report of Indian Education Commission* of 1882, p 621.

[20] Parulekar. *Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay* (1820-1830), p xxxiii.

report. Others also spoke in the same strain. The instruction given in these schools was certainly meagre in the absence of printed text-books. But the instruction given at these elementary schools was of a practical nature and was improved by the people's actual occupations in life. These efforts should certainly not be judged by modern standards.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF EARLY EUROPEANS OTHER THAN THE BRITISH

The Portuguese

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach India by the sea-route, towards the end of the 15th century. In 1509, Alfonso de Albuquerque was appointed Governor of Portuguese affairs in India. He seized, from the Bijapur Sultan, the rich port of Goa and fortified it. In order to secure a permanent Portuguese population, he encouraged his fellow countrymen to marry Indian wives. Albuquerque's successors added Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay, San Thomè near Madras and Hoogli in Bengal.

Roman Catholic missionaries followed in the wake of Portuguese merchants and established, in course of time, the following four types of institutions:

(a) Parochial Schools for elementary education attached to churches and missionary stations;
(b) Orphanages for Indian children providing not only elementary education but also agricultural and industrial training;
(c) Jesuit Colleges for higher education,
(d) Seminaries for theological instruction and for training priests for their profession.

The chief object of the Portuguese educational efforts in India was to spread Christianity. For conversion to Christianity the Portuguese held out to Indians such temptations as posts in the customs, exemption from impressment in the navy, and free distribution of rice. Such converts were sometimes nicknamed, "rice Christians".

Some missionaries like Robert de Nobili used deceitful methods, in order to secure converts from the ignorant masses. Nobili, who had his headquarters at Madura, advertised himself as a Brahmin from the West, bringing back to India the lost Vedas. He dressed himself as a Sadhu, wore a sacred mark on his forehead, engaged Brahmins as his servants and ostensibly ate vegetarian food.

As in Europe, the Portuguese treated the Muslims as the natural enemies of a Christian power and persecuted them and forced them to change their religion. Areas near Goa were depopulated, the people running away to Malabar to escape forcible conversion. They were more tolerant to the Hindus, and unsuccessfully tried to stop the cruel practices of 'sati' and infanticide.

The Portuguese settlements in the north-east of India were mostly inhabited by adventurers upon whom no effective control was exercised by the Governor at Goa who repudiated any responsibility for their actions. The people at their chief settlement of Hoogli "were generally indigent, most of the Portuguese being highway robbers and men of loose lives."[1] Their practices infuriated Shah Jehan who destroyed Hoogli in 1632, after which the Portuguese power in Bengal never revived.

There came into existence in the Portuguese possessions in India several colleges of repute. In 1580 a Jesuit College in Chaul was attended by over three hundred students who were taught Latin, logic, theology, rudiments of Portuguese grammar and music. Jesuit colleges were also established in Bandora and Bassein In 1790, there existed in Bombay, a Portuguese school for Eurasian children

Jesuit missionaries were very energetic, and penetrated into the heart of India. They participated in Akbar's religious discussions and established a college and a church at

[1] C E Luard, quoted by O'Malley *Modern India and the West*, p. 46

Agra. Education was regarded by them as a means of conversion to Christianity.

The Portuguese were also the first to establish printing presses in Southern India. They established the first printing press in Goa about the year 1556 and soon published a few works of a religious nature. There were printing presses at Ambalacatta, Cochin, Angamale and Panikkayal.

With the loss of their naval supremacy to the Dutch, nothing was left to the Portuguese except Goa, Daman and Diu. During Shah Jehan's reign Qasim Khan captured Hoogli and the Marathas in 1739 deprived them of Salsette and Bassein.

The Extent and Nature of Portuguese Influence

Portuguese efforts in the cause of Indian education remained confined to their own possessions and did not have any far-reaching effect elsewhere. Their good work, however, gave grounds later to some critics of the British East India Company to accuse the Directors of indifference to the problem of education in the country.

The Indians in Portuguese settlements and the neighbouring areas learnt a kind of debased Portuguese—a patois composed of Portuguese and Indian words. This patois had to be used for some time by the English for their contact with the Indians when they came later.

The missionaries have had a very great influence on the development of modern Indian education. The Portuguese authorities encouraged missionary effort which began during their regime. Indeed, in their zeal for religion, the Portuguese went to the extent of subjecting Indians to religious persecution.

The Dutch

The Dutch gradually ousted the Portuguese from Java, the

Archipelago and Ceylon, but they had only a nuisance value so far as India was concerned.

The policy of the Dutch was more strictly commercial than that of the Portuguese. They had little desire for territorial domination or imposition of their creed. Their missionaries concentrated on converting the Roman Catholics into Protestants rather than on converting the Hindus or Muslims to Christianity. Their settlements in India were too few and scattered to affect any except people in their vicinity. They taught the English the need of fortified settlements.

The Danes

The Danes also had factories at Tranquebar near Tanjore, and at Serampore near Calcutta, which became great centres of the activities of Danish Protestant missionaries. These missionaries worked in harmony with English missionaries and were financed by the latter when funds from Denmark failed.

The French

During the first half of the 17th century a keen strife raged among the European powers for the monopoly of the eastern trade Long and uncompromising was the struggle between the English and the French for supremacy in India. In spite of initial successes, the French dream of Indian empire vanished into thin air and they were left in possession of isolated settlements like Pondicherry, Mahè and Chandernagore.

Elementary schools for Indian children were started by the French in their settlements. Indian teachers taught in them through the medium of local languages. There was one secondary school at Pondicherry where French was also taught to the children of French settlers and Indian employees The French were much more liberal

than the Portuguese in their policy of religious tolerance. Children professing different faiths were admitted to their schools without restriction.

French and Dutch Influence

The Dutch and the French influenced the main trends in Indian education very little, indeed. The influence of the French, like that of the Portuguese, generally remained confined to their settlements in India. The good work done by the Dutch in Ceylon, however, formed the basis of criticism of the apathy of the British East India Company towards the cause of Indian education. Dr Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, wrote in 1695, "The Dutch had lately erected a college or university in Ceylon .. ... .The British East India Company are in this matter negligent" As a result of remarks like this an express provision was put into the Charter of the British East India Company towards the end of the 17th century for ensuring greater efforts to educate the Indian people.

The missionaries who contributed a great deal to the development of modern Indian education, followed in the wake of these trading companies Missionary societies like the S.P.C K (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge) and the S P.G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) came into existence in England, and missionaries from different European countries became available for service in India. We had Danish, German, French, English and Italian missionaries working side by side in the 17th century in India. The Madura mission founded in 1606 by Robert De Nobili worked for over a century in Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Salem almost without protection from any European power. They are reported to have converted nearly 150,000 people till their deceitful methods were disallowed by the Pope and their activities suppressed by the Portuguese.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

In December, 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted to the East India Company, by charter, the monopoly of eastern trade for fifteen years. As a result of the efforts of Captain Hawkins and Thomas Roe, the Emperor Jehangir issued in 1613 a 'firman' permitting the English to establish a factory permanently at Surat. In 1633 a factory was built at Masulipatam and in 1640 the foundation of Madras laid and Fort St. George built. In 1668 the Company acquired the possession of Bombay which had been given to Charles II as a dowry by the Portuguese Indeed, the history of the East India Company from 1613 to 1757, the year of the Battle of Plassey, is one of gradual expansion by fighting the European rivals and by playing the Indian rulers one against another.

The Company's Efforts at the Evangelization of the Indians and the Education of the Converts

South India

The earliest educational efforts of the British East India Company were motivated by a desire to counteract the influence of the Roman Catholics who, under the patronage of the Portuguese, had done good work among the people for nearly a century The Company, therefore, not only encouraged Protestant missionaries from all European countries, but also took some active steps in the direction.

One such effort is mentioned by N Law[1] About 1614,

[1] *Promotion of Learning in India by Early European Settlers*, p 7, on the authority of Rev. Frank Penny's *Church in Madras*, Vol. 1, pp 14-16.

Captain Best, who had foiled the Portuguese attempt to prevent the English from establishing a factory at Surat by defeating them in 1612 in a naval encounter, took home an Indian youth. This young man was educated and trained in England at the Company's expense for the propagation of the Gospel among his own countrymen. We have no means of knowing how far this Indian youth succeeded in his work, or how far the Company made it a matter of policy to train Indian youths for evangelical purposes. One of the Directors of the East India Company, Robert Boyle, suggested in 1677 that the Company's Chaplains should be specially trained for missionary work in India, and Bishop Fell of Oxford offered to teach them Arabic at the University where a professorship in Arabic had actually been established in 1636 for this purpose. Robert Boyle's Tamil version of the Gospel was actually distributed among the people in the Company's settlements. Books in Portuguese were also distributed. But Tamil and pure Portuguese were languages not generally understood, and so the Company's efforts did not bear the expected fruit. The people generally understood a debased kind of Portuguese—a mixture of Portuguese, Tamil and other Indian dialects. The Company's Chaplain at Fort St. George, Mr Lewis, learnt this patois and taught the people the doctrines of Christianity between the years 1691 and 1714. The Company's Directors decided in 1659 to allow Protestant missionaries to have a free voyage to India. In 1714 they allowed Ziegenbalg to bring books with him to India freight-free and within a year repeated the same favour.

This initial attitude of the British East India Company towards religious education is very important, because, as we shall see, the Company later reversed this policy completely, and consistently followed that of strict religious neutrality to the indignation and disappointment of the

missionaries. This they had to do for political reasons which we shall discuss at the proper place.

The Directors of the East India Company first became conscious of their duty to educate the Christian children of Fort. St. George in 1673 when they appointed Mr. Pringle, a Scottish preacher, to run a school mainly for Eurasian children. The superintendence of this school was later entrusted to the Company Chaplains. The medium of instruction used at this school was a mutilated form of Portuguese, as mentioned before.

That the Directors were not very anxious to extend their educational effort even in this limited direction is apparent from the fact that Chaplain Lewis's recommendation to start two nurseries, one for boys and the other for girls, for teaching them the Protestant religion through the medium of Portuguese, was not carried out. Then Lewis founded a free school unaided and carried it on as long as he remained at Fort St. George The school was held in a large room in the Church.

The inadequacy of the Company's educational effort in India came in for severe criticism on the eve of the renewal of its Charter in 1698. The Churchmen in England had the following provision added to the Company's Charter

"All Ministers shall be obliged to learn within one year after their arrival the Portuguese language and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or the slaves of the Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion.

"We further will and direct that the Company shall provide schoolmasters in all the said garrisons and superior factories where they shall be found necessary."

By another provision in the same Charter schoolmasters were to be "attached to every ship over 500 tons burthen."

Two things become clear. The British Government

were also giving their sanction for religious education. And those for whom this education was intended were not the people in general, but the servants of the East India Company.

Charity Schools

The provisions in the Charter of 1698 and the example of the Danish missionaries, to some extent, spurred the lethargic authorities of the East India Company to make some attempts in the direction of Education. As a result, St. Mary's Charity School was started with an accommoda- tion for thirty Protestant children. Boys and girls of five years of age were admitted, and board, lodging and educa- tion, in a practical sense of the Protestant creed, were pro- vided free of charge. While boys were taught "to read, write and cast accounts or what they may be further capable of," girls were "instructed in reading and the neces- sary parts of house-wifery". The Governor-in-Council was to be consulted by its managing committee in all important administrative matters including the admission of children to the school.

This school was not wholly supported by the East India Company. A substantial portion of its finances was derived from the legacies left by generous people. A part of the fines imposed by the council on offenders was given to the school funds and the boatmen of the place were also required to pay a portion of their income on Sundays, when people generally had pleasure trips.

A charity school on similar lines was started in 1719 in Bombay, by the Rev Richard Cobbe.

These were probably the first schools in which the Com- pany took any direct interest. But whatever interest it did take was further diminished during the 18th century when the missionary activities in this field expanded. It contented

itself with giving occasional help to mission schools, sometimes providing a site for a school or repairing a school building. The Company's servants at Fort St. David were asked to work as accountants for a few schools in their leisure time.

The Company's officials in their private capacity showed some interest in the cause of Indian education

Lady Campbell, the wife of the Governor of Fort St. George, raised money in 1784 for a "Female Orphan Asylum." The Nawab of Arcot purchased a large house and gave a sum of 1,500 pagodas; while the contributions from the local people amounted to 30,000 pagodas. The Company's Directors were also persuaded to pay a subscription of Rs. 5/- a month for each child up to a maximum of Rs. 500/-. The strength of the school rose to 150 in 1790, and the Government, under great pressure, agreed to pay the school Rs 750/- a month. But they refused flatly to increase the grant any more, in spite of the fact that numerous applicants for admission had to be refused.

Shortly after Lady Campbell's school, plans were also made for a 'Male Asylum' The Madras Government sanctioned a monthly contribution of Rs 500/-, while soldiers and military officers subscribed two days' salary or more to the school fund. The Military Board also gave unclaimed prize money amounting to about 16,270 pagodas The strength of the school in 1792 rose to 200

The Presidency Chaplain, Dr. Bell, was the Director of the school He introduced here, his famous adaptation of the Indian system of education. This consisted in senior pupils teaching junior pupils, each class thus having an equal number of teachers and pupils. The education given here was elementary, being confined to the three R's. The boys had to wear a prescribed dress consisting of a shirt and a pair of trousers, with a coat, on special occasions. The alphabet was taught in the old South

Indian manner. Sand was spread on a table or bench and letters were traced in the sand first by the teacher and then by the pupil. A register was maintained in which were recorded the offences of the students who were later punished by a jury of their own peers.

When the strength of the school rose without a proportionate increase in Government contribution, a novel method of meeting the school expenditure was adopted. A lottery named "Road and Asylum Lottery," was launched with great success.

Dr. Bell provided education of a higher standard at least for some students. He himself gave lectures on natural philosophy and explained to his students the use of machines.

Inspired by the good work done by Schwartz at Tranquebar, Tanjore and Trichinopoly, John Sullivan, who represented the Madras Government at the court of Tanjore, started a few schools on his own responsibility in order to break down the prejudices which existed against the British rule. Three English schools were established in 1785 at Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivagunga with the approval and financial help of the rulers of those places The Directors of the East India Company appreciated this new purpose, and contributed 250 pagodas to each of such schools, already existing in 1787, and promised to pay the same amount to others which might be started for impressing on the people of India "sentiments of esteem and respect for the British nation, by making them acquainted with the leading features of our Government so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind."[2]

In these schools, besides Tamil, the curriculum included Bible teaching as well as English. But these schools did not advocate Christianity expressly or by deceitful methods

Sullivan's new purpose required a change in the method

[2] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

of education hitherto followed. The Danish missionaries at Tranquebar used the vernacular as their medium of instruction, a method recommended also by the Company's Charter of 1698 But Sullivan established English schools for all, for better intercourse and understanding between the English and the Indians. The importance of this type of school can be very well imagined by the readiness of the Directors of the East India Company to come forward with actual financial help and promises of further help in this direction.

An earlier attempt to use the English language as a medium of instruction had been made by the Chaplain of Fort St. George in 1715 in a school started by him, but education there was confined to the children of English soldiers. It was not his aim to promote a better understanding between the rulers and the governed.

There existed, in the latter half of the 17th century, libraries in British settlements like Fort St. George and Fort St. David, specially for the edification of the Chaplains and the officials of the East India Company. At frequent intervals books were sent by the Company's Directors for addition to the libraries and in course of time they grew to a respectable size In Calcutta there was also started around the year 1700, a circulating library established by the S.P C.K., London.

These libraries had a healthy influence, although their educative benefit was confined only to the servants of the Company.

Missionary Effort in the South

The first Protestant attempts to educate the people in general were made by Danish missionaries about the year 1706. They had their headquarters at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. Among the most important pioneers

the names of Ziegenbalg, Schultze and Schwartz must be mentioned here.

The good work done by these missionaries was so much appreciated in England that the S.P.C.K., in London, came forward with substantial assistance so that they might enlarge their sphere of activities by establishing more schools in other places.

These Protestant missionaries followed the example of the Portuguese and established their printing presses. Their first printing press was started in Madras in 1711 and a Tamil version of the New Testament was published in 1714.

The mission schools for the first time aimed at teaching the Indian children through the medium of the vernacular languages. While most schools at the beginning were meant for Christian children, there were at least some where children belonging to other faiths were taught. In a few schools the English language was also taught to Indian children for better communication between the rulers and the ruled. Thus the unofficial missionary effort was much more important than the efforts of the official Chaplains of the Company Indeed, it is true to say that the real foundations of modern Indian education were laid not by the British administrative authorities, but by the missionaries and the officials of the East India Company in their private capacities.

North India

It was nearly half a century after the British had established themselves at Surat that they could secure a foothold in Bengal. Moreover, this foothold was not very secure, as they were driven out by the Mughals about the year 1686. It was only after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 that the British could find themselves in a safe position.

The British could not find peace even after their politic control of Bengal. Many years elapsed before lawlessne could be suppressed in Bengal and Behar. Even in 177 large bodies of robbers were plundering the north Bengal without any effective check The state of affai can be well imagined by the fact that even in 1810, Lor Minto complained of a monstrous and disorganized state society due to the great bodies of armed robbers who burr or robbed villages and murdered their inhabitants. Th Company could therefore do very little for the educatio of the people during the latter half of the 18th century The missionaries and Company officials in their privat capacity, however, made a small effort in this direction.

Under the auspices of the S.P.C K., London, a charit school was established at Calcutta in 1731. Th efforts and enthusiasm of the Company's Chaplain, Mr Bellamy, placed the school on a financially secure basis. I 1880 it was amalgamated with the Calcutta Free School

Only a year after his victory at Plassey, Clive invite Mr. Kiernander whose missionary work he had watche with admiration at Madras. Within a year of his arriva Mr. Kiernander started a school with 48 scholars. There were seven Armenian, fifteen Portuguese, twenty English and only six Bengali students. This school cannot be said to be meant for the Indians who formed less than 13% of its strength. It was financed by public contributions. Mrs. Kiernander on her death in 1773 bequeathed all her jewellery with Rs. 6,000 to the school. In 1887, provision was also made by the school management for the education and maintenance of destitute girls.

That these efforts did not make much headway is clear from the fact that Mr Richard Becher, a servant of the Company, wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors on the 24th May, 1769 as follows "It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think that since the acces-

sion of the Company to the Diwani, the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before . . . . . . .This fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards ruin."[3]

In 1789 the *Free School Society of Bengal* was formed. It started a free school in 1790 which was amalgamated with the Charity School. In 1790 it had on its rolls 17 boys and 12 girls and a year later the number rose to 80 boarders and 21 day scholars.

In 1783 Major General Kirkpatrick founded the Military Orphan Society which started two schools, one for the maintenance and education of the orphans of officers and the other for those of ordinary soldiers. The children were trained for situations they were likely to fill in their future life

Besides these institutions, there sprang up in Calcutta and its suburbs schools run by retired or disabled soldiers merely for the sake of earning a living. Girl's boarding schools were also started by several ladies who taught their students reading, writing and needle work

The Danish Governor of Serampur, in Bengal, encouraged the Baptist missionaries to settle there and set up their printing press. These were so zealous in educational matters that by 1817 they had started no fewer than 115 schools, mostly in the vicinity of Calcutta.

Besides the Baptist missionaries, a few private individuals and some officials, also in their private capacity, were doing something for the education of the people while the Company was concentrating its energies on the establishment of law and order, adjusting its administrative machinery and raising necessary revenue for discharging its obligations There was a good deal of discontent among

[3] *An Advanced History of India*, p 675 (by R C Majumdar and his collaborators).

the people and the Company's officials did all they could to conciliate them. With this purpose, even offerings were made to the Goddess Kali by the official representatives of the Company.

In order to pacify the Muslims, rather than from any altruistic motive, Warren Hastings started the Calcutta Madrasah in 1781. There arrived in Calcutta in 1780 a *maulvi* named Majid-ud-din who was renowned for his piety and scholarship. A petition to Warren Hastings on behalf of the leading Muslims of the place led him to establish the *maulvi* in suitable quarters with forty stipendiary students. This was the origin of the Calcutta Madrasah. Warren Hastings hoped to win over influential Muslims to his side by providing for their sons lucrative jobs as interpreters of Mohammedan law to English judges. Howell, in his *Education in India*[4], says that the Calcutta Madrasah was founded "to conciliate the Mohammedans of Calcutta . . . .. to qualify the sons of Mohammedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, and to produce competent officers for courts of justice to which the students of the Madrasah on the production of certificates of qualification were to be drafted as vacancies occurred." Another probable motive was that Warren Hastings wanted to continue the old practice of Indian princes who made generous donations to educational institutions and patronised learned men in many ways.

What Warren Hastings did for the Muslims, his successor, Lord Cornwallis did for the Hindus, ten years later. At the instance of Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Banaras, he founded a Sanskrit College at the sacred city of Banaras "for the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and religion of that nation at this centre of their faith and

[4] p. 1.

common resort of all their tribes." According to Cornwallis, the two aims were:

(a) "Endearing our government to the native Hindus, by exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems, the care shown even by their own native princes,"

and (b) "Preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindu law ....to assist European judges" in the dispensation of justice

While these institutions of Oriental learning were no doubt founded with a view to providing English judges with interpreters of Muslim and Hindu law, there was also another reason why the English patronised them Some Western scholars were fascinated by the wealth and novelty of India's cultural heritage. Wilkins was described as "Sanskrit-mad". The celebrated linguist and jurist, William Jones, founded in January, 1784 the *Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Once a week the members met to read and discuss papers on Oriental subjects and these papers were then published in the periodical called the *Asiatic Researches.*

It was not only through the schools that the missionaries and others tried to educate the people. They established printing presses and published books in Indian languages. The Baptist missionaries of Serampur were pioneers in this respect in Northern India.

Critical Observations on Education during the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries

Most histories of modern Indian education dismiss this period with a few remarks and begin their account from the year 1813, when the education of the Indian people was, for the first time, officially recognised as a duty of the British East India Company. If the real drama of

modern Indian education begins in 1813, the long period of preparation and rehearsals preceding it has its own importance. It determined to a very great extent the success or failure of that drama as well as the lines along which it was to develop.

The Portuguese started in their settlements good educational institutions and seminaries for the training of Indian priests. But their influence was mainly confined to their isolated settlements. They taught several lessons to their European competitors in the spheres of political administration and missionary work, such as importance of naval power, of fortified settlements and of education as a means of conversion. The Portuguese language contributed many words to Indian languages and for a long time afterwards a debased kind of Portuguese was the medium of communication in Indian sea-ports and was the medium of instruction in schools in European settlements

On the whole the Portuguese contributed little to the educational advancement of India.

The Danes and the Dutch both made missionary and educational efforts which presented a contrast with the apathy of the British East India Company in this direction, and which helped to shake the Company a little out of its lethargy.

The French contribution was practically next to nothing. Some schools in the French settlements, however, made an attempt, for the first time, to employ Indian teachers to teach students through the medium of the mother tongue.

Both the English and the Protestant missionaries that followed in their wake learnt many a lesson from their predecessors and contemporaries.

The greatest contribution to Indian Education during the early years of the English East India Company was made by the missionaries and the Chaplains generally on their own initiative. It was the missionaries who started schools

and persuaded private individuals including Directors of the East India Company to come forward with financial assistance. They made sincere efforts to reach the common people and to convert and educate them in their own language.

The officials of the Company in their private capacity, also promoted the cause of Indian Education Of these the Chaplains were the most enthusiastic Lady Campbell's 'Female Orphan Asylum', as the name indicates, was the result of the efforts of the Governor's wife. The Calcutta Madrasah was also started with the private money of Warren Hastings, and it was only after some time that the Directors were persuaded to pay for its expenditure.

Towards the end of the 18th century when the Calcutta Madrasah and Banaras Sanskrit College were started, the real foundation of the Orientalist Policy of Education of the first quarter of the 19th century was laid. These institutions were started for diplomatic reasons of concilating influential Muslims and Hindus.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPANY IS FORCED TO ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1793

TOWARDS the end of the 18th century, some Englishmen had begun to feel that the East India Company should accept the responsibility for educating the Indians. Foremost among these was Charles Grant who wrote a treatise in which he painted a dark picture of the moral degradation of India and suggested that the country could be reformed through English education with the help of the State.

Although Grant's *Observations*[1] had not been published by this time, it was read in manuscript by Wilberforce and a few other friends who sympathised with and supported the author's views. These friends intended to propose the inclusion of a clause in the Company's Charter to the effect that it was the peculiar and bounden duty of the British East India Company to promote the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of India by imparting to them useful knowledge as well as religious instruction for moral improvement. The Directors were alarmed at this move, and they organised an effective opposition. When Wilberforce proposed in the House of Commons that the Company should be required to send, from time to time, a sufficient number of skilled and suitable missionaries and schoolmasters to spread secular knowledge and true religion in India, he was opposed by Fox and even by the Bishop of St. David. Fox said that all schemes of proselytisation were not only wrong but positively mischievous, while the Bishop sur-

[1] See Chapter XII for a more detailed account

prisingly questioned the very right of any people to force their religion on any other nation. The House of Commons accepted the resolution stating "that measures ought to be adopted for securing the advancement of India in 'useful knowledge' and 'religious and moral improvement' though they rejected the proposal seeking to provide for the despatch of 'a sufficient number' of schoolmasters and missionaries to be maintained by the Government of the Presidencies; and the Company was very chary of granting licences to missionaries."[2]

Giving his evidence in 1853 before the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company, J. C. Marshman stated the reasons why Wilberforce's pious clause had to be withdrawn from the Company's Charter Act of 1793. In the debate that followed Wilberforce's proposal, Marshman said, "One of the Directors stated that we had just lost America from our folly, in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and that it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India; and that if the natives required anything in the way of education, they must come to England for it."[3]

The East India Company's apathy towards Indian education should not be surprising, when we compare it with the policy of white people elsewhere. Even about the middle of the 19th century there existed in Virginia, Carolina, Georgia and Alabama laws to the effect that if a negro taught his people to read or write he was to be whipped, fined and imprisoned, and if a white man taught them, he was to be fined one hundred dollars or imprisoned for six months.[4]

[2] Sir Philip Hartog *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p 5
[3] Quoted by B. D. Basu in his *Education in India under E. I. Company*, p 6
[4] Actual laws quoted by B. D Basu from Harmsworth's *History of the World*, Vol. IV, p 2814, (Basu, pp. 3-5).

Again, education of the people was not fully recognised as the duty of the State even in England during the early years of the 19th century.[5] It was supposed to be the responsibility of the English Church. How, then, could a body of *merchants* like the British East India Company, whose prosperity depended chiefly upon the ignorance of the people it traded with, possibly be expected to undertake, at its own sweet will, the education of the Indian people?

Although the attempts of Wilberforce, Charles Grant and others to saddle the East India Company with the responsibility of educating the Indian people had failed for the time being, they did not sit quiet. According to Mayhew in his *Education of India*, Wilberforce had been, since 1792, "inconveniently vocal in the Commons on measures for the moral and religious instruction of the natives" of India. Other events in England gradually forced the Directors of the East India Company to accept the responsibility for the education of the Indians.

The twenty years between 1793 and 1813 form a period in British history when great philanthropic and educational efforts were made. Numerous philanthropic societies came into being in England for the amelioration of the lot of the poor. Among these, the Sunday School Union (1803), the Royal Lancastrian Institution (1808) and the National Society for the Education of the Poor (1811) deserve special mention Unsuccessful attempts were also made in the British Parliament by Whitbread and Brougham to enact laws for two years' free schooling to poor children between the ages of 7 and 14 years, and for better education of the poor in England and Wales. Burke's speeches on

[5] "In great Britain itself it was not until 1833 that the House of Commons made a grant of £30,000 for the purpose of Education." (Sir Philip Hartog in a footnote on page 74 of *Some Aspects of Indian Education*).

Indian affairs during the Impeachment of Warren Hastings also clearly pointed out the dangers of the East India Company's purely commercial policy and the unlimited avarice of its ambitious servants. Burke called them "birds of prey and passage."

Besides these influences in England, some of the Company's officials in India also raised their powerful voice in favour of the education of the Indian people Lord Minto, Governor-General of India between 1806 and 1813, wrote in his famous Minute of 1811 about the sad state of learning in India and attributed it "to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native governments." He said, "The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar, religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse, and even actual loss of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them" Lord Minto adds that ignorance of the natives not only deprives them of the benefits which the cultivation of letters affords but also materially obstructs "the measures adopted for their better government." "Little doubt can be entertained," he goes on to say, "that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery, so frequently noticed in the official reports, is in a great measure ascribable, both in the Mahomedans and Hindoos, to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths"[6]

All this combined agitation, both in England and in India,

[6] Minto's Minute of 1811 in the Appendix I to *The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*, 1832.

was bound to influence the educational policy of the East India Company, so that when the Company's Charter came up for renewal in 1813, a clause for the appropriation of one lakh of rupees for Indian education was inserted.

Critical Review of the period before 1813

Very early in the 17th century the Directors of the East India Company encouraged missionary activities and favoured the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. Towards the end of the 18th century we notice a change in the Directors' attitude. When the missionaries, through Wilberforce and Charles Grant, tried to force the Company in 1793 to send to India "missionaries and schoolmasters" to bring to the "pagans and heathens" the Gospel of Christianity, the Directors fought tooth and nail and succeeded in getting Wilberforce's pious clause eliminated from the Charter Act of 1793. On the authority of Richter's *History of Missions in India* we learn how one of the Company's Directors (named Mr. Bensley) summed up the official position in the following words, "So far from approving the proposed clause or listening to it with patience, from the first moment I heard of it I considered it the most wild, extravagant, expensive and unjustifiable project that ever was suggested by the most visionary speculator." Again, when in August 1806, a sepoy rebellion in Vellore district broke out, it was attributed to the activities of the missionaries. "This insignificant circumstance", says Richter, "sufficed to extinguish the last spark of sympathy with missions on the part of those in authority."

Shri K. S. Vakil in his *Education in India*[7] (Modern Period) quotes an interesting passage from the Secret

[7] (1940 edition) p. 44.

Despatch No. 3 from the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated Sept. 7, 1808:

"When we afforded our countenance and sanction to the missionaries who have from time to time proceeded to India for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion, it was far from being in our contemplation to add the influence of our authority to any attempts they might make, for, on the contrary, we were perfectly aware that the progress of real conversion would be gradual and slow, arising more from a conviction of the purity of the principles of our religion itself, and from the pious examples of its teachers, than from any undue influence or from the exertions of authority which are never to be resorted to in such cases."

Another trend that characterises the period under review was the constant refusal of the Company's Directors to acknowledge the responsibility for the education of the Indian people. Even after the Charter Act of 1813 by which the Company had to set aside the sum of one lakh of rupees for the people's education, the authorities, as we shall see later, were unwilling to carry out the intention of the British Parliament faithfully. Some of the Company's officials like Warren Hastings, however, partially recognised the duty of a civilized government to promote education. I use the word "partially" advisedly, because the chief motive behind Hastings' educational effort was political—the conciliation of influential Hindus and Muslims.

We can also trace during this period the gradual evolution of the Orientalist policy which prevailed during the first quarter of the 19th century, and also the germ of that Anglicists-Orientalists controversy which reached its climax during the early thirties The establishment of the Calcutta Madrasah in 1780 and the Banaras Hindu College in 1791, were the first steps in the evolution of that policy,

while Charles Grant's advocacy of imparting Western knowledge through the medium of English reflected the future Anglicist view-point. Lord Minto's famous Minute of 1811 also lent its powerful support to the Orientalists and determined to a great extent the way in which the sum of one lakh of rupees allotted every year to education was to be spent for the first two decades after the Charter Act of 1813.

Again, the establishment of Oriental institutions of higher learning and the encouragement given only to a few selected classes adumbrate what later came to be known as the "Downward Filtration Theory", i e., the view that the knowledge and culture of the topmost classes was bound to filter down to the masses in course of time.

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1813

This Act may be regarded as the triumph of the missionary effort which had become intensified since 1793 to force the East India Company to undertake the education and moral uplift of the Indian people. Let us see how the historian of missionary activities in India views the whole matter.

"The 13th Resolution, the one in which the whole missionary question was really involved, ran as follows: 'Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvement That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.' That meant that the missionaries were to be allowed to enter

India and reside there; they might preach, found churches, and discharge all spiritual duties, in a word, they might fulfil their missionary calling in its completest and widest sense."[8]

While this part of the Act is important because it led to the intensification and extension of missionary effort in India, section 43 of the Act was still more important because it provided money for Indian education and defined the objects of the Company's educational policy in India. It ran as follows:—

"It shall be lawful for the Governor-General-in-Council to direct that............a sum not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India."

The words at the beginning should be noted very carefully—"It shall be lawful". The appropriation of the sum of one lakh of rupees for education was not obligatory but was left to the discretion of the Governor-General-in-Council Again, although the objects of the educational policy are mentioned, they are vague and admit of several interpretations. Moreover, the section gives no directions whatsoever about the methods in which the three educational objects mentioned above were to be achieved As a result of these shortcomings little or nothing was done for a decade after the passing of the said Act, and another decade was consumed more in fruitless controversies than in adopting measures for the real educational advancement of the country. Another reason for the absence of Government educational activity during the first decade was the preoccupation with the wars with Nepal (1814-16) and with

[8] Richter *History of Missions in India*, p. 151.

the Marathas (1817-19) which were a great strain on the finances of the Government.

THE REACTION OF THE DIRECTORS IN THEIR DESPATCH OF 1814

The educational clause, as I have already stated, was included in the Charter Act of 1813 in the teeth of the opposition from the Directors of the East India Company. They were not enthusiastic about carrying it out at all. In their Despatch of June 3, 1814 to the Governor-General-in-Council the Directors gave their interpretation of the educational clause mentioned above and suggested ways on how the sum of one lakh of rupees should be spent on education every year. In their opinion, none of the objects of the clause could be achieved "through the medium of public colleges.. ....because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college." The best method, they suggested, was to leave them "to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance." For political reasons they wanted that educational efforts should be concentrated on Banaras "which is regarded as the central point of their (i.e. of the Hindus) religious worship, and as the great repository of their learning" The Government representative at Banaras was, therefore, to report, "what ancient establishments are still existing for the diffusion of knowledge in that city, what branches of science and literature are taught there, by what means the professors and teachers are supported; and in what way their present establishments might be improved to most advantage" The Directors also talked about "many tracts of merit" in Sanskrit "on the virtues of

plants and drugs and on the application of them in medicine" and about "treatises on astronomy and mathematics" which might "not add new light to European science," but which still might prove useful. They, therefore, wanted "that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of these departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language." They summed up their real position in the following words: "We shall consider the money that may be allotted to this service as beneficially employed, if it should prove the means, by an improved intercourse of the Europeans with the natives, to produce those reciprocal feelings of regard and respect which are essential to the permanent interests of the British Empire in India."*

From this Despatch it is clear that the Court of Directors did not intend to do anything more than to "bestow honorary marks of distinction" on some learned natives of India, to give some financial assistance to a few deserving men from their midst, and to encourage their own servants to study the Sanskrit language. They found a lame excuse for not starting colleges in their imaginary notion that the Hindus would not submit to college discipline. But most of all they had at their heart "the permanent interests of the British Empire in India" and not the education of the Indian people. It is, therefore, not surprising that even this meagre sum of one lakh of rupees a year was not utilised at all, or only partially utilised, for nearly a decade.

The Committee of Public Instruction, when it was established in 1823, made no endeavour to obtain any portion of the arrears of the annual budgeted allowance of one lakh of rupees for education. Only the arrears from the year 1821 were accounted to the Committee.

*From the *Affairs of the East India Company*, Vol. I., (1832) quoted in greater detail by B. D Basu in his *Education in India under the East India Company*, p 12.

While the Company's Directors had been so unwilling to spend money on the education of the Indian people even after the sanction of the British Parliament, they had been spending large sums of money on the training of English civil servants in India. In 1880 there was established in Calcutta a college for the education of civilians and the Company's Directors sanctioned the sum of 1,50,000 rupees for the annual expenses of the college. Major B. D. Basu in his *Education in India under the East India Company*[10] gives illuminating details of the yearly expenses from 1800 to 1830 on the training of the Company's civil servants in the presidencies and also the contributions made to the Calcutta Madrasah and the Banaras Hindu College, and reaches the following conclusion:

"Thus it would be observed that the Indian Government had to spend every year more money on the education of their civil servants, who in the three presidencies seldom exceeded more than 100 in number, than on the education of their Indian subjects, who at the lowest computation must have exceeded fifty millions of human beings."[11]

[10] See pages 25-36.
[11] Ibid., p 37.

PART TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF VERNACULARS

The first to use the vernacular as a medium of instruction in their schools were the Christian missionaries who worked chiefly among the people of the lowest castes and sought to convert them. They not only carefully studied the vernacular languages but wrote their grammars, compiled dictionaries and translated the New Testament into those vernaculars I have already discussed the good work done in this respect by Ziegenbalg, Schultze, Schwartz, De Nobili and others. But the mission vernacular schools do not seem to have become popular because of the prejudices of the Hindus and Muslims who were afraid of the evangelizing motives of their founders. As early as 1725 the Protestant missionaries of Tranquebar had about 17 schools for "Heathen and Muhammedan" children and four schools for Christian children The first group of schools was soon neglected because Christianity could not directly be taught there Later, the missionaries introduced English also in their schools, partly to meet a popular demand, and partly in the hope that it would lead to people's conversion to Christianity.

It was no part of the Orientalist policy, followed by the Government towards the end of the 18th century and during the first three decades of the 19th century, to encourage the vernacular languages. This neglect of the

vernacular languages on the part of the General Committee of Public Instruction was noticed by the Court of Directors who in their communication to the Bengal Government in 1830 said: "We perceive some traces in the General Committee, and still more in the local Committee of Delhi, to underrate the importance of what may be done to spread useful knowledge among the natives through the medium of books and oral instruction in their own languages."[1] Indeed, the General Committee did nothing to encourage the vernacular languages. It vaguely believed that the study of the classical languages would somehow enrich and standardise the vernacular languages automatically. The Committee only noted the popularity of Hindi in the Oriental College at Agra and gave a little financial assistance to about 9 vernacular village schools at Saugar in about 1831. In its report for the year 1831, the General Committee said, "The schools at Saugar, although of the nature of village schools, are apparently required by the great want of means of instruction in that part of the country, and by their being situated among a population so essentially Hindoo One of the Committee's objects has always been the formation of a standard language for the Western Provinces by the cultivation of the vernacular dialects."

The Anglicists, on the other hand, dismissed the claim of the vernacular languages on the ground that these were not in an adequately advanced state for the communication of a knowledge of Western science and literature. Thus the vernacular languages in Bengal were, to all intents and purposes, crushed to death between the two millstones of the Orientalist and Anglicist policies.

Before the General Committee of Public Instruction came into existence in 1823, Lord Moira, however, in his Minute

[1] Public Letter from the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, dated 29th September 1830, para 13.

on Education dated October 2, 1815 had raised his voice in favour of encouraging village teachers. He complained that the chief defect of native education in village schools was "that the inculcation of moral principle forms no part of it" and that the "village schoolmasters could not teach that in which they had themselves never been instructed." He thought that the money spent on Oriental colleges of higher learning was a mere waste because he did "not believe that in those retreats there remained any embers capable of being fanned into life." He added, "It is true, the form of tuition is kept up in them, but the ceremony is gone through by men who are (as far as I could learn) devoid of comprehension in the very branches which they profess to teach." The same year Sir Charles Metcalfe replied to the objections of certain officials that if the Government promoted education among the native subjects, the latter might be led to demand independence. Sir Charles Metcalfe contended that by conferring on the natives the blessings of education, the British Government would earn not only "the gratitude of India", but also "the admiration of the world." He went on: "My own opinion is that the more blessings we confer on them, the better hold we shall have on their affections and in consequence the greater strength and duration to our empire."[2]

In 1817 the Calcutta School Book Society was formed for "the preparation, publication and cheap or gratuitous supply of works useful in schools and seminaries of learning;" and the preliminary rules also stated that "it forms no part of the design of this institution to furnish religious books." Sir Edward Hyde East who helped in the establishment of the Calcutta Vidyalaya was also a member of this committee He has given the origin of the Society in the following words:

"A few individuals engaged in establishing schools for

[2] Adam's Reports, (Calcutta Edition), p. 406

the instruction of native children having found a great obstacle to their exertions in the want of lessons and books, in the native language suited to the capacities of the young, or at all adapted for the purpose of enlightening their mind, or improving their morals, proposals have been circulated for a subscription, for the publication of elementary books in the Bengalee and Hindustani languages". It was not till 1821 that the Government consented to give this Society an annual grant of Rs. 6,000/-

Another Society called the Calcutta School Society was also formed in 1819 for establishing schools for the instruction of the natives mainly through the medium of the vernacular languages first in Calcutta and its neighbourhood and then in other parts of the country. But the Orientalist policy of the Government, and the popular demand for English, nipped in the bud these tendencies in favour of the vernacular languages in Bengal

The events in Bombay, and partly in Madras, however, took a different course which was more favourable to the vernacular languages till the final triumph of the Anglicists in Bengal which was bound to influence the whole of British India.

We have already discussed how the South of India became the first field of Protestant missionaries who started elementary schools for the education and conversion of the natives. Among these the Danish missionaries of Tranquebar were most famous. When the Charter Act of 1813 provided for the missionaries greater facilities of work and movement in India, new missionary Societies entered the field The London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the Scotch Missionary Society did good work in Madras and its vicinity.

But little educational work had been done by the Government in Madras Presidency till Sir Thomas Munro became the governor in 1820. We have already discussed

Munro's efforts at investigating the state of native education in the presidency. In his circular letter of directions to the different collectors he insisted upon the principle of non-interference with the native schools. "It is not my intention to recommend any interference whatever in the native schools. Everything of this kind should be carefully avoided and the people should be left to manage their own schools in their own way. All that we ought to do is to facilitate the operation of these schools by restoring any funds that may have been diverted from them, and perhaps granting additional ones where it may appear advisable."[3]

Munro, in his famous Minute of March, 1826, made a few proposals for the improvement of education in his Presidency. He suggested how some of the causes, like the people's poverty and the absence of well-instructed teachers, which were responsible for a low state of education, could be removed. "The poverty of the people may in a great degree be removed by the endowment of schools throughout the country by Government, and the want of encouragement will be remedied by good education being rendered more easy and general, and by the preference which will naturally be given to well-educated men in all public offices." He recommended a monthly sum of Rs. 700/- to be given to the Madras School Book Society which included in its programme the establishment of "a school for educating teachers", because Munro felt that "no progress....can be made without a body of better instructed teachers than we have at present." He also recommended "that Government should establish in each collectorate two principal schools, one for Hindus and the other for Mahomedans; and that hereafter, as teachers can be found, the Hindu schools might be augmented so as to give one

[3] A. J. Arbuthnot: *Selections from Munro's Minute and other Official Writings*, Vol. 2, p. 350.

to each Tahsildary." But the number of Mahomedans being only one twentieth of that of the Hindus, it was "not necessary to give more than one Mahomedan school to teach collectorate, except in Arcot and other collectorates" where Mahomedans lived in larger number.

He proposed to establish twenty Collectorate schools for Mahomedans, twenty Collectorate schools for Hindus and 300 Tehsidari schools at a total monthly expense to the Government of Rs. 4,000/- including the monthly grant of Rs. 700/- to the Madras School Book Society. He also made clear that the existing endowments and public grants amounting in all to a little less than Rs. 20,000 and belonging "chiefly to the teachers of Theology, Law and Astronomy" should not be appropriated for the purpose of establishing new schools.

Although Munro's suggestions were accepted by the Court of Directors, Munro's death in 1827 cut short his scheme. Only about 70 Tehsildari schools could be established by the year 1830, when the Court of Directors issued fresh instructions to the Madras Government in favour of English education for the higher classes of Indian society. They criticised the Madras Government's scheme because "no provision was made (in it) for the instruction of any portion of the natives in the higher branches of knowledge. A further extension of the elementary education which already existed, and an improvement of its quality by the multiplication and diffusion of useful books in the native languages was all that was aimed at. It was indeed proposed to establish at the presidency a central school for the education of teachers, but the teachers were to be instructed only in those elementary acquirements which they were afterwards to teach in Tehsildari and Collectorate schools. The improvements of education, however, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people are those which

concern the education of the higher classes of persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen" The Court of Directors also expressed their "anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of Natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of their country" and pointed out that the Madras Government measures were not calculated to satisfy that desire. They expressed their satisfaction with the measures adopted in Bengal for "instruction in the English language and in European literature and science" and directed: "We are desirous that similar measures should be adopted at your Presidency"[4]

But efforts in this direction in Bombay were more successful, although ultimately the predominance of English rendered them ineffective.

use in schools, assistance to and improvement of existing schools, and the establishment and maintenance of new schools in keeping with the needs of the people and the resources of the Society. The Society appointed a special committee "to examine the system of education prevailing among the natives and to suggest the improvements necessary to be applied to it." This committee found four chief defects in native schools—inadequacy of the books of instructions, want of qualified teachers, absence of an efficient method of teaching and lack of funds. To remove these defects the committee suggested that help from Europeans with a knowledge of the vernacular languages should be obtained, that Bell's system of tuition should be adopted for economy and that suitable books should be published. It also recommended the establishment of English schools, but only those pupils who had acquired a fixed minimum standard in their mother-tongue were to be admitted to such schools The recommendations also included suggestions for the training of teachers and for an appeal to be made to the Government for funds. In 1823 the Society applied to the Government for financial assistance which was granted and which also occasioned Elphinstone's famous Minute on education

In 1827 the Bombay Native School Book and School Society changed its name for a briefer one—the Bombay Native Education Society With the support of the Government of Bombay it had, by 1833, published nearly 50,000 volumes at a cost of two lakhs of rupees, started numerous primary schools and four English schools at Bombay, Thana, Panvel and Poona.

Elphinstone in his famous Minute of December 13, 1823 acknowledged the need of "great assistance from Government" for the proper education of the natives His educational plan consisted of the following seven measures:

1. Improvement of native schools and increasing their number;
2. Adequate supply of school books,
3. "Encouragement to lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them,"
4. Establishment of schools "for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education;"
5. "The preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages;"
6. Establishment of schools for "teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries," and
7. "Encouragement of the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge"

In order to carry out the programme of education outlined above, Elphinstone suggested the institution of examinations and a scale of prizes and rewards for the encouragement of students and financial assistance for the encouragement of private education effort.

But Elphinstone's scheme was opposed by Mr. Warden, a member of his Council who advocated the use of the English medium for the promotion of education in Bombay. These differences later developed into the well-known Anglicists-Vernacularists controversy which we shall discuss in a separate chapter.

A few years later Adam made similar recommendations in Bengal for the promotion of vernacular education. We have already discussed Adam's reports about the state of indigenous education in Bengal and Behar

Adam believed that the native Indian institutions of education "present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be estab-

lished." He did not favour Government interference with native schools and objected to the establishment of even government-controlled model schools on the ground that the loss of native control might excite the illwill of displaced teachers. He, therefore, recommended a plan of "payment by results". Collaboration between the Indians and Europeans was needed for preparing school books of increasing difficulty in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu. He was against any attempt to alter the religious conviction of the pupils who were to be instructed in the principles of their own religions. Teachers were to be suitably rewarded for their own proficiency and for the attainments of the pupils taught by them.

But Adam's scheme was rejected because the Government supported the policy of educating higher classes in Western learning through the medium of English.

Vernacular Education in the North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh

When in 1840 the educational institutions of the North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh passed into the control of the Provincial government, the policy of promoting education through the medium of the vernacular was adopted by the Lieutenant Governor, Mr Thomason. The reason given for this change from the Bengal Government education policy was that "much less encouragement there exists here for the study of English than is the case in the Lower Provinces, and in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. There are here very few European residents, except the functionaries of Government There is no wealthy body of European merchants transacting their business in the English language, and according to the English method. There is no supreme court where justice is administered in English, no English Bar or Attorneys,

no European sea-borne commerce, with its shipping and English sailors, and constant influx of foreign articles and commodities, and even in the public service, the posts are very few in which a knowledge of the English language is necessary for a discharge of their functions."[6]

It is interesting to note that the reason given for the encouragement of education through the medium of the vernacular is the absence of any incentive to the study of English, and not any conviction that the vernacular medium is the only effective means of the promotion of education among the masses.

Mr. Thomason had a plan for the provinces of Agra and Oudh based on the recommendation made by Adam in his Reports on the Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar. Every Tehsildari was to have a village school conducted by a schoolmaster on a salary from Rs 10 to Rs 20 a month. The subjects to be taught included "reading and writing the vernacular languages, both Oordoo and Hindee, Accounts and Mensuration of land according to the native system," together with "such instruction in Geography, History, Geometry, or other general subjects conveyed through the medium of the vernacular language, as the people may be willing to receive." Rivalry between Government schools and indigenous village schools was to be avoided by making the terms of admission to the former difficult. For a proper inspection of these Government Tehsildari schools there was to be for the whole province a Visitor-General who was to be assisted by 'zilla' and 'pergunnah' visitors. The 'pergunnah' visitors were to receive salaries ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 40 a month and their duty was "to visit all the towns and principal villages in their jurisdictions, and to ascertain what means of instruction are available to the people." They were also expected to improve the existing schools by their advice, and encourage and assist

[6] *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol. II, pp 228-29.

people in establishing new schools Prizes were to be offered both to the teachers and scholars and deserving students were to be admitted to Tehsildari schools free of charge.

Over the 'pergunnah' visitors there was to be a 'zilla' visitor on a monthly salary between Rs. 100 and Rs 200 He was to have the sum of 500 rupees a year at his disposal to be given away as prizes on the recommendations of the 'pergunnah, visitors Among his chief duties were the supervision of periodical examinations, checking of 'pergunnah' visitors' work and preparation of annual reports on the progress of education in the district, including the state of education in indigenous schools Besides these duties, he was to be "the agent for the distribution and sale of school books" and was to "receive a commission of 10 per cent on all such sales"

The Visitor-General was to supervise the entire educational work in the village He was to "correspond direct with the Government" and "to furnish an Annual Report on the State of education in the several districts under his charge."[7]

The Directors of the East India Company approved of Thomason's plan and sanctioned its introduction in eight districts out of a total of thirty-one The satisfactory results of this scheme were praised by Wood's famous Despatch of 1854

Critical Observations

All these efforts to educate the Indians through the medium of the vernacular deserve great praise. But they were all isolated efforts, too weak to check the flood of English education in India. Their only defect was that

[7] The Resolution of the 9th February, 1850, Summarised from the *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol II, pp 249-51

they did not take the indigenous institutions for elementary education adequately into consideration, but tried to set up a rival system. In Bombay, for example, the indigenous elementary schools were allowed to die out and a few primary schools of a new type were established with the aim of imparting to the people Western knowledge through the medium of the vernacular.

The claim of the vernacular languages as the only effective means of educating the masses had never been seriously denied either by the Orientalists or the Anglicists. The Orientalists vaguely believed that the study of the classical languages would automatically enrich the vernacular languages without any direct efforts to cultivate or improve the latter. The Anglicists always said that the English medium was inevitable because of the crude and undeveloped state of the vernacular languages. Indeed, after the introduction of English as the language of political correspondence between the British Government in India and the Indian rulers, when it was suggested that English should also be made the language of the courts of Justice, the Court of the Company's Directors definitely said, "At least the proceedings of the courts of justice should be exempted from the practice which you propose gradually to introduce, and be conducted in the vernacular language of the particular zilla or district, unless, upon consideration, you see good reasons for adhering to the present practice."[8]

The case for the vernacular has been very well expressed by a writer (quoted by Major B. D. Basu)[9] as follows:

"History tells us, that no nation has ever yet been civilized or educated, save through its own vernacular and that the uprooting of a vernacular is the extermination of the race, or at least of all its peculiar characteristics. Speech,

[8] Letter from Court to Bengal, dated 29th September, 1830.
[9] *Education in India under E. I. Company*, pp 98-99

Thought and Existence are so closely bound together, that it is impossible to separate them. They are the great trinity in the unity of the race."

CHAPTER VI

THE ANGLICISTS–VERNACULARISTS CONTROVERSY AND ITS OUTCOME

We have discussed how in Madras, Munro's scheme of encouraging indigenous education by establishing a large number of Tehsildari schools was cut short by his death in 1827 and by the criticism of the Court of Directors in 1830. Even the few Tehsildari schools that had been established under Munro's scheme were discontinued in 1836 when the Bengal Government ordered that the aid to Collectorate and Tehsildari schools should be stopped, and an English College at Madras and English schools in other suitable places should be started. Thus Madras was made to fall into step with the Anglicist policy of Bengal

We have also discussed the efforts made in the North-Western Provinces to educate the people mainly through the medium of their own vernacular languages. We have mentioned Elphinstone's seven-point programme and Mr. Warden's differences with him on the point of the medium of instruction in Bombay Mr Warden thought that the Government should restrict its endeavours to the promotion of education only through the medium of English. He advanced most of the arguments of Bengal Anglicists in support of his views, but he was under no delusion that English could ever become the universal language of India.

"I do not contemplate", he said, "the education of a population of eighty million of souls in the English language, but I do contemplate and at no distant period, its general use in all proceedings, and its ultimate foundation, as the language of the educated classes of British India"[1]

[1] Appendix I to *Report from Commons Select Committee*, 16th August, 1832.

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In spite of Warden's opposition the Bombay Native Education Society went on establishing primary schools for the purpose of spreading "Western science and knowledge through the mother-tongue." The Society also conducted several English schools at Bombay and other places, but it regarded "the teaching of the English language as of secondary importance in effecting the mental and moral improvement of the natives." By the year 1840 when the Society was abolished, as many as 115 primary schools had been established.

In 1823 the Engineering Institution was founded, its chief feature being the vernacular medium through which instruction in European science was given to Indian students. In 1826 a medical school was also established where its superintendent translated several works on medical science into the Marathi and Hindustani languages. But these institutions were not very successful probably for lack of suitable text-books in the vernacular languages

When in 1827 Elphinstone retired, the influential people of Bombay formed a Committee and raised a sum of Rs. 2,26,172/- to institute Elphinstone professorships "for the purpose of teaching the natives the English language and the Arts, Science and Literature of Europe." The Court of Directors sanctioned an equal amount.

The declared purpose of the Elphinstone professorships for which the people of Bombay had raised such a large sum led Mr Warden to renew his attack on the general policy of the Bombay Native Education Society. He was glad to receive "so unqualified a corroboration" of his views and urged "the policy of directing our chief effort to one object—to a diffusion of a knowledge of the English language, as best calculated to facilitate the intellectual and moral improvement of India"

But Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay agreed with the views of his predecessor, and so, little change in

the essential principles of Elphinstone's system was effected during his stay. But Malcolm's successors began to change the Bombay Government's educational policy in favour of English. Lord Clare suggested that the number of Professors for Hindu learning at the Poona College should be reduced and professors for instruction in English and Persian should be added in order to make the institution more useful. Indeed, he added in his Minute of May 8, 1832: "In fact in every seminary supported by Government the English language should be taught" Lord Clare also abolished the Native Medical School founded by Elphinstone Clare's successor, Sir Robert Grant, founded a Medical College in which the English medium was used.

In spite of the anglicising policy of Clare and Grant, primary schools of the native type were established in 1837 in Purandar Taluka of Poona district. These schools were different from the primary schools of the Bombay Native Education Society where reading, writing, Arithmetic, History of England and India, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Euclidean Geometry and Trigonometry were taught. But the Purandar schools sought to instruct the masses in reading, writing and Arithmetic on the lines of the indigenous schools. These schools were controlled by the Revenue Department till 1840.

In 1839 Lord Auckland desired the Bombay Government to furnish a report on the state and progress of vernacular schools in the province Captain T. Candy, Superintendent of the Poona College and the Government vernacular schools in the Deccan, prepared the required report. The gist of Captain Candy's Report of May 27, 1840 was. "The National Education of India cannot be said to be on a suitable basis till there is a vernacular school in every village and an English school in every zilla." Captain Candy's recommendation was forwarded to the Governor-General-in-Council with a request that approval for its operation in

Bombay should be given. But the Governor-General did not give his sanction on two grounds—lack of adequate funds and the existence already of a large number of vernacular schools. The Governor-General, however, sanctioned the establishment of two English schools—one in Gujarat and the other in the Southern Maratha country.

In 1840 the Bombay Native Education Society was abolished and the Board of Education was established. The Board took over not only the institutions of the Society but also the Poona Sanskrit College, the Elphinstone Institution and the Purandar schools. The policy of the Bombay Board of Education marked a further swerve in the direction of English education. It regarded the money spent on Purandar schools as a waste and "determined on reopening no schools in the districts which have been once closed, and on taking all opportunities as they occur, of closing the schools now open."[2]

In its annual report for the year 1845, the Board of Education, Bombay, gave interesting figures. Out of 10,616 scholars in Bombay Government schools only 761 studied English, but in Bengal no fewer than 3,953 pupils in Government institutions out of a total of 5,570 were receiving English Education. The Bengal Government was spending nearly three times the Bombay Government's expenditure on education. The Board reached the conclusion that the existing system of education could not effect the intellectual or moral improvement of the people because of a lack of good teachers of, and suitable literature in, the vernacular languages. The Board became convinced of the theory of "Downward Filtration," "of the necessity of beginning from above downward, when the attempt is made by a Western nation to introduce their own system of education, and their own habits of thought among a

[2] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol. II, p. 148.

people whose type and character of civilization have been so wholly different"

The Board's policy of encouraging education through the medium of English brought the matter to a head. It was suggested that the Poona Sanskrit College be abolished, but the Government appointed Captain T. Candy as its Superintendent in 1837 for the purpose of reforming it. Captain Candy introduced and encouraged a systematic study of the vernacular languages in the College. He said, "The vernacular should be studied by all, from the prince to the peasant, and it should, nay it must, form the medium through which the mass of the population shall receive the education suitable for, and needed by, them.

"English, on the other hand, should be studied by every gentleman, by every one who has leisure and means to prosecute the study, by every one who aspires to a superior situation under Government, and by every one who wishes to be thoroughly educated."

But the President of the Bombay Board of Education being an advocate of English education, Captain Candy's suggestions were not accepted in practice.

In 1845 the controversy between the Anglicists and Vernacularists became acute. Like the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal, the Bombay Board of Education also became almost equally divided on the point of a suitable medium of education. While Col. Jervis and the three Indian members of the Board espoused the cause of the vernacular languages, the president, Sir Erskine Perry, with two European members formed the Anglicist group Colonel Jervis said that the policy of the Bombay Native Education Society of promoting education through the medium of the mother-tongue had remained "unquestioned, until of late years, when the influence of certain men in authority of undoubted talent, but of strong and peculiar prejudices, introduced the idea of giving the pre-

ponderating consideration to the study of English." "Surely it must be admitted", he contended, "that general education cannot be afforded, except through the medium with which the mind is familiar." The use of an unfamiliar language like English would really "withhold all education from the native population of this country, until the English language is so familiar to them that each individual can think and reason in that tongue." "The idea", therefore, "of making English the sole language of our Indian subjects" which "has been seriously entertained and propounded" is of a "chimerical nature." "In proportion as we confine education to the channel of the English language, so will the fruits be restricted to a number of scribes and inferior agents for public and private offices, and a few enlightened individuals—isolated by their very superiority from their fellow countrymen." He spoke of the wrong insistence "so much on imposing the burden of the foreign language of a handful of rulers on millions of our native population" "On the contrary," he went on, "I conceive it a paramount duty, on our part, to foster the vernacular dialects, and to use every endeavour to free them from the swaddling bands in which they have been hitherto confined. Aided by their cognate classical dialects (Sanskrit, etc) they would be capable of a copiousness of expression now unknown to them"[3] He quoted Horace Wilson also in support of his views.

In a Minute dated April 13, 1847, Col Jervis further clarified his views

"My object is to establish the point that we must look to the diffusion of a truly sound, intellectual and moral education, primarily and mainly through the medium of the vernacular dialects", and that "for that object, we should make considerable efforts and sacrifices to obtain good translations and well-educated Englishmen, as teachers,

[3] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol II, pp 11-13

who would enter with ardour in the task imposed on them, and would acquire the languages of this country"

He expounded the two principles governing his advocacy of the vernacular—"the greater ease with which the instruction is communicated in the first place, and, in the second, the fact that an individual, when educated solely through the medium of a foreign language, is still unable, to impart the results to others, through the medium of his own."

The views of the Indian members of the Board were also embodied in a Minute dated May 1, 1847 by Jagannath Shankarseth who repeated some of the arguments of Col. Jervis in favour of the vernacular languages, but was also anxious to say as much in favour of English education as he could without violent contradiction. Some of the points that he emphasized were.

1. The vernacular was superior to English as a medium of communicating useful knowledge to Indians.
2. A vernacular medium was better understood by the people.
3. A native who is first well-grounded in his own vernacular can also make rapid progress in his study of English.
4. It is impossible to teach the great mass of the people a language like English which is so different from their own.
5. Contributors to the funds for the Elphinstone Professorships never meant that the vernacular languages were to be neglected. On the other hand, they had hoped that these would be "carefully fostered and improved, and brought into use as a medium of communicating useful knowledge to the great body of the people"
6. While Elphinstone and the Native Education Society tried to use the vernacular medium for the communi-

cation of useful knowledge, the then Bombay Government was neglecting the vernacular languages.
7. People are evincing a great desire for a knowledge of the English language and literature, but their motives are "public employment and a facility of intercourse with Europeans."
8. The study of English was not to be discouraged, but it was "beyond the reach of the masses."
9. Native interest demands greater encouragement of the vernacular languages by means of increased pay to the teachers of these languages and scholarships to deserving students.[4]

The Anglicists, with Sir Erskine Perry at their head, repeated the arguments of the corresponding party in Bengal and said that Col. Jervis's proposals were impolitic and impracticable. The President of the Board called the proposal of Col. Jervis "impolitic, because all experience shows that the improvement of a native in knowledge, and probably in morality also, must always proceed from above downwards.. . Colonel Jervis seems to think that a vernacular literature and men of genius can be raised to order. I, on the other hand, conceive that Government is exceedingly impotent in these matters" Speaking on the basis of his twenty-five years' experience Perry said "that the tendency and desire of the natives throughout India is to acquire a knowledge of the English language."

A motive that guided Sir Erskine Perry in his advocacy of English as a medium of instruction is well brought out in his Note on Education printed as Appendix to the Bombay Board of Education Report for the year, 1849 Perry said, "It is only by close inter-communication that complaints become heard and redressed, that the views of the Government for general improvement can be appreciated,

[4] Summarised from *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol, II, pp 16-17.

that the corruption and extortion of intermediate agency can be checked. It is the clear perception of these views that causes Government to lay so much, and such just stress on their European employees making themselves masters of the native languages. But the same good results are produced, and in much more effective manner, when the natives on their part acquire the English language."

The dispute was referred to the Government whose judgment could be interpreted by either party to be in its own favour. In a letter dated April 5, 1848, the Government communicated to the Board its own decision which may be analysed as follows:

Pupils in vernacular schools were superior to those in English schools "in sound and accurate understanding of the subject of their studies." Therefore, "the main efforts for the general education of the people should be exerted in the language familiar to them from infancy." But at the same time "the means of acquiring the higher branches of education in the English language" should be "unquestionably" afforded The policy of regarding the study of English as of primary importance and "the communication of knowledge in the vernacular" "as of secondary moment" must be reversed and "the vernacular must become the medium for the diffusion of sound knowledge among the masses." The efficiency of the district and village schools where that medium is employed "should be increased by better training of teachers and increased salaries." The letter concludes as follows:

"The Governor-in-Council is of opinion that the present system should be maintained in as efficient a state as possible, admitting all who seek it, and who have capacity to acquire European learning, to the advantages of Education in the English language. The chief and greatest exertions should, however, be directed to the promotion generally of education, by means of vernacular classes and schools.

Good elementary works in the vernacular, on science, literature, and morals, ought to be provided; while the efforts in English should be confined to a school in each province, and the college at the Presidency, where moreover the higher branches of learning should be taught also in the vernacular tongue, as the progress of translations may enable this to be effected."[5]

In spite of the vagueness of the Government decision, this letter seemed to be in favour of the vernacular education. But when the Bombay Government applied to the Supreme Government of Bengal for the sanction of a scheme for promoting vernacular education, it was not given on the ground of the heavy expenditure it would entail. The Governor-General, on the other hand, suggested that the Bombay Government should concentrate its efforts on English education. Thus gradually, in Bombay also, English became the medium of instruction in the higher branches of learning, although the efforts of the vernacularists succeeded in retaining the use of the vernacular language as the medium of instruction till the secondary stage.

Critical Observations

I have discussed, in my criticism of Macaulay's Minute and at appropriate places elsewhere, some of the motives, both administrative and political, that led the Anglicists to advocate a knowledge of European sciences and English literature to be given to the Indians through the medium of the English language. That Sir Erskine Perry, in his advocacy for English in Bombay, also thought more of the convenience of a few British officials than of the education of the Indian people is clear from his words already quoted.

[5] Summarized and partially quoted from *Selections from Educational Records*, Vol II, pp 19-20

Although the Anglicists could not deny theoretically the importance of the vernacular languages for the education of the bulk of the Indian people, they took every care, in practice, to see that no encouragement was offered to these languages on one pretence or another. As Major B. D. Basu in his *Education in India under the E.I. Company* has shown, the British educational policy in India was of a piece with their policy in Ireland, where active measures for the suppression of the Irish language were actually taken. They realised that the development of the vernacular languages and literature was bound to foster among the Indians a strong sentiment of nationalism. Major Basu has quoted Dr. John Wilson's remarks about Shivaji:

"There cannot be a doubt that the vernacular literature which had sprung up in the province to which he belonged, during the two centuries which preceded him, nursed the spirit of Hinduism in himself and his contemporaries, and was one of the main causes of their hatred of, and successful rebellion against, the Muhammedan power which he was instrumental in heading."[6]

While there is no room for doubt about the real intentions of the Anglicists, there were certain Europeans like Elphinstone in Bombay, Munro in Madras, Adam in Bengal and Thomason in the North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh, who saw the utter impracticability of educating the Indian people at large through the medium of the English language. They, therefore, insisted upon the use of vernaculars as media of instruction. Captain T. Candy, whose opinions we have discussed already, admirably summed up what the educational policy in the real interest of the country should have aimed at:

"In a word, knowledge must be drawn from the stores of the English language, the vernaculars must be employed

[6] *Education in India under E.I. Company*, p. 97.

as the media of communicating it, and Sanskrit must be largely used to improve the vernaculars and make them suitable for the purpose. I look on every native who possesses a good knowledge of his own mother-tongue, of Sanskrit, and of English, to possess the power of rendering incalculable benefit to his countrymen."[7]

A patriotic Indian could hardly state the aims of education in a better way. These aims could be achieved by insisting that every Indian acquired a fixed minimum standard of attainment in his own mother-tongue, by giving him both the accumulated knowledge of the East and the West through the medium of his own vernacular, and by providing him facilities, if he was capable of benefiting by them, for studying the English language and literature. The aims certainly could not be achieved by making English the medium of all instruction.

[7] The Bombay Board of Education Report (1840-41), p. 35.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEGLECT OF INDIGENOUS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

We have seen how there spread over the whole country a net-work of elementary schools both for the Hindus and for the Muslims when the Europeans came to India. Many of these schools disappeared fast when the country was torn with internecine wars during the years of the decline of the Mughal power. They continued to die out because neither the early European officials nor the missionaries ever thought of improving them. They started schools of a new type, specially for Christian children. The Protestant missionaries of Tranquebar did start, in about 1725, some schools for "Heathen and Muhammedan" children, but they soon neglected these schools because they could not directly preach Christian doctrines there. Great as was the effort of the missionaries in the sphere of Primary Education, their measures were not conducive to the encouragement of indigenous elementary schools which could not serve the purpose of evangelization.

After Munro's unsuccessful efforts for the promotion of primary education in Madras, "partly in consequence of too exclusive attention to higher education, and partly from the want of adequate funds, the duty of diffusing Primary Education among the masses was neglected by the government until 1868."[1] The number of unaided indigenous schools in Madras known to the Education Department in 1882 was 2,828 with 54,064 pupils.

Even in a province like Bombay where education through the medium of the vernacular was favoured during

[1] *The Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 29

the first half of the 19th century, no effective measures were taken to maintain, much less to improve, indigenous schools. In Bombay, elementary institutions of a new type were established where the aim was to give Indian children Western knowledge through the medium of the vernacular

In its report for the year 1846, the Board of Education, Bombay, defined its attitude to Purandar primary schools (which had been started in 1837 by Captain Shortrede on national lines) in the following words.

"Under these circumstances, it has appeared to us, that we were wasting our resources by continuing the monthly expenditure of rupees 350 dedicated to the experiment, and that such amount would be more profitably expended in support of a few schools, such as we may reasonably hope to make good schools sooner or later. We, therefore, determinated on reopening no schools in the districts which have been once closed, and on taking all the opportunities (not infrequent) as they occur, of closing the schools now open"[2] Even after the recommendations of Wood's Despatch and Lord Stanley's Despatch of 1859, there does not seem to have been any material change in the attitude of the Bombay Government. Even in 1881-82, only 73 indigenous schools received some grant-in-aid, although the Education Department was aware of the existence of no fewer than 3,954 indigenous schools with 78,205 scholars.

The system of Primary Education in Bengal was, however, built upon indigenous schools. Sir George Campbell in 1872 recommended that indigenous schools should be inspected by the Education Department, and assisted by means of stipends to teachers of between Rs. 2 and Rs. 5 per month. This was replaced later by the system of payment by results

[2] *Selections from Educational Records,* Vol II, p 148.

The extent of help offered to indigenous schools in other provinces in 1881-82 is clear from the following table.

Provinces	*No. of aided indigenous schools with scholars*	*No. of known unaided indigenous schools with scholars*
1. North-West Provinces	243 schools with 15,019 pupils	6,172 schools with 61,634 pupils
2. The Punjab	278 schools with 14,616 pupils	13,109 schools with 1,35,384 pupils

Thus we see that most indigenous schools received no help whatsoever. Some which did were changed beyond recognition. By the end of the 19th century, there were hardly any indigenous primary schools left, and the aided or deparmental schools could never possibly be in adequate strength to supply the needs of the country. Indeed, it has now become almost difficult to believe that in the recent past there existed an effective system of elementary education in India.

It cannot be denied that most of the indigenous elementary schools were defective. The teachers were poorly qualified, received a mere pittance, and the instruction they gave was of a very rudimentary character. But the education given took into consideration the practical needs of the pupils Considering the circumstances in which they were working, their efforts deserve praise There were no printed text-books, there was no State aid; the people in general were poor; there were no school buildings, the teachers had to work on starving wages etc. etc. In spite of all these handicaps they had a feature which was thought worthy of imitation in England. The Monitorial system, where the advanced pupils taught their less advanced fellow students, was learnt by Dr. Andrew Bell, Chaplain

at Madras, from indigenous schools and introduced into England. In their Despatch dated June 3, 1814 to the Governor-General-in-Council, the Court of the Directors of the East India Company said:

"The mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Bell, formerly Chaplain at Madras, and it is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction."[3]

It was a great mistake to neglect these indigenous schools because it has never since been possible to replace them with new ones in any adequate measure. They could very well have been improved suitably at much less cost and effort. Adam wisely recommended that "existing native institutions from the highest to the lowest, of all kinds and classes, were the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the character of the people, that to employ those institutions for such a purpose would be the simplest, the safest, the most popular, the most economical, and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education, and for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves for their improvement, without which all other means must be unavailing."[4] These recommendations were based on his convictions that "to whatever extent such institutions may exist, and in whatever condition they may be found, stationary, advancing or retrograding, they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundations, we may improve, enlarge and

[3] *Selections from Educational Records*, Part 1, p. 23.
[4] Adam's Reports, Calcutta Edition, pp. 349-50.

beautify the superstructure, but these are the foundations on which the buildings should be raised."[5]

Adam also suggested a plan of improvement to be first tried on an experimental basis in a limited area. The plan included the preparation of a set of books in modern Indian languages for the use of teachers and pupils, the appointment of a chief executive officer for an area, to survey his area, to meet teachers, to explain the books, to conduct examinations, to grant rewards etc., the establishment of normal schools for teachers in indigenous schools, the institution of a system of rewards both for the pupils and the teachers, the grant of endowments of lands to village schools, etc.

But no heed was paid to this sound advice Sporadic efforts were made in Madras, Bombay and the North Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh to educate the people through a new type of primary schools where the vernacular was used as a medium of instruction. In Madras out of 300 Tehsildari schools proposed to be started by Munro, only 70 such schools could be started by 1830, when the Court of Directors advised the Madras Government to concentrate on higher education of the people through the medium of English The Bombay Native Education Society started, by 1840, about 115 primary schools, where the aim was the spread of Western science and knowledge through the mother-tongue These primary schools were different from our idea of primary schools and corresponded to the secondary schools of the present day. The fact is clear from the following list of subjects that were taught in these primary schools of Bombay. Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, History of England and India, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Euclidean Geometry, and Trigonometry. Even Thomason's

[5] Adam's Reports, Calcutta Edition, pp viii-ix.

effort in the North Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh can be said to have encouraged indigenous schools only indirectly. His schools in each Tehsil were meant to serve as a model for indigenous schools to imitate. Finding it impossible to start a school in every village, the collector of Mathura had a new system of *halka* (circuit) schools. He started a school in a central village to serve the needs of all neighbouring villages within a radius of two miles. The Zamindars were also persuaded to contribute one per cent of their land revenue for the maintenance of these schools. This idea was taken up by other collectors also, with the result that by 1854 there were about 758 such schools with 17,000 pupils.[6]

The new elementary schools that gradually replaced the indigenous institutions were certainly better in many respects. They had better qualified teachers, they taught a wider range of subjects, most of them had school buildings of their own; their working hours became more regular etc, etc. But judged from the point of view of the needs of the country, they were never in adequate numbers. The only suitable solution of the great problem was the improvement of the indigenous schools which should never have been allowed to die out.

[6] The Hunter Commission Report of 1882, p. 20.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EXPANSION OF THE NEW SYSTEM OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

(*From Wood's Despatch to Curzon's Reforms*)

Wood's Despatch

Wood's famous Despatch of 1854 marks an important change in the attitude of Government towards Primary Education. While in 1813 the Court of Directors had unsuccessfully opposed the measure requiring them to set aside the sum of one lakh of rupees for the purpose of Indian education, they now clearly stated: "It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge." Through education they expected "to uproot demoralising practices, and even crimes of a deeper dye" and thus have more reliable servants for Indian administration. But they were characteristically unwilling to lose sight of material advantages of these educational measures which, besides enhancing British prestige in the eyes of the world, would "secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour."

Aim of Education

Without wishing "to diminish the opportunities which are now afforded in special institutions for the study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian literature" a knowledge of

which was needed for three reasons – "for historical and antiquarian purposes," for "the study of Hindoo and Mahomedan law", and "for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India"–the Court of Directors emphatically declared the object of Indian education to be "the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short, of European knowledge." They mentioned the efforts made to engraft Western knowledge on Oriental learning but regarded these as mere "auxiliaries" which could form "a very inadequate foundation for any general scheme of Indian education." They no longer wanted to give higher education to only "a small number of persons" but were "desirous of extending far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge of a less high order, but of such a character, as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life."

The Medium of Education

The Directors admitted that preference given to English-knowing persons for "employment, public as well as private" led people to look upon "a very moderate proficiency in the English language as the end and object of their education rather than as a necessary step to the improvement of their general knowledge" and further led them "unduly to neglect the study of the vernacular languages." "It is neither our aim nor desire", they declared, "to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country", and as a proof of their sincerity, they referred to their previous order by which the vernacular took the place of Persian as the court language of India. But they regarded a knowledge of English essential for "a high order of education" while "the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes

who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English." They, therefore, concluded: "We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a schoolmaster possessing the requisite qualifications."

Abandonment of the Downward Filtration Theory

The Directors pointed out that financial reasons had led so far "to too exclusive a direction of the efforts of Government towards providing the means of acquiring a very high degree of education for a small number of natives of India, drawn, for the most part, from what we should here call the higher classes." They wanted now to take up a "more important" task "which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people" and expressed their "desire to see the active measures of Government more specially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure." In order to achieve this end, Government were to encourage schools, both Anglo-vernacular and vernacular, and "wise encouragement" was also to be offered to indigenous schools "under the system organised by Mr. Thomason in the North-Western Provinces". The teachers of these schools were to "possess a knowledge of English in order to acquire, and of the vernaculars so as readily to convey, useful knowledge to their pupils."

The System of Grant-in-Aid

Realising "the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India", they "resolved to adopt in India the system of grant-in-aid" which had been carried out successfully in England and which was "based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted." The institutions where "a good secular education" was given and where the managers consented to Government inspection were to receive such grants The aided schools should charge from their pupils some tuition fee, however small The grants were to be made for "specific objects" rather than "in the form of simple contribution in aid of the general expenses of a school", and their amount and continuance were to depend upon the inspectors' reports. The Anglo-vernacular and vernacular institutions imparting elementary education were not to be excluded from the benefit of the system of grant-in-aid, although "a more minute and constant local supervision" would be needed in these cases. The Directors looked "forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grant-in-aid, and when many of the existing government institutions, especially those of the high order, may be safely closed or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State."

Vernacular School Books

"Equal in importance to the training of schoolmasters is the provision of vernacular school books which shall provide European information which is to be the object of

study in the lower classes". The Directors accepted for this purpose Elphinstone's suggestion of 1825 that "the best translations of particular books, or the best treatises in specified languages, should be advertised for and liberally rewarded."

The Government attitude towards education in general, and towards Primary Education in particular, has been nicely summed up in the following words of the Despatch itself.

"We have declared that our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of people We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India among the greater mass of the people. We have directed such a system of general superintendence and inspection by Government to be established, as will, if properly carried out, give efficiency and uniformity to your efforts. We propose by the institution of Universities to provide the highest test and encouragement of liberal education. By sanctioning grants-in-aid of private effort, we hope to call to the assistance of Government private exertions and private liberality. The highest classes will now be gradually called upon to depend upon themselves; and your attention has been more especially directed to the education of the middle and lower classes, both by the establishment of fitting schools for this purpose and by means of a careful encouragement of the native schools which exist . . . We have noticed some particular points connected with education, and we have reviewed the condition of different Presidencies in this respect, with a desire to point out what should be imitated, and what is wanting, in each"

Wood's Despatch may, therefore, be said to have laid the real foundation of the modern system of Primary Education. The aim became the diffusion of western know-

ledge among the people at large through the medium of the the vernacular languages The "Downward Filtration Theory" (according to which only the classes with leisure and money were to be educated in the hope that their knowledge and culture would filter down to the masses) was given up in favour of the policy of conveying "useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life," to the great mass of the people. Indigenous institutions were also to be improved in the light of this aim. The grant-in-aid system was also to apply to primary schools on the condition that fees were charged from the students and the people came forward to meet at least some part of the expenditure of these schools. Vernacular languages were to be encouraged (side by side with English) and good translations and treatises were to be advertised for and liberally rewarded.

Some of the good sentiments expressed in Wood's Despatch, however, remained only a pious hope.

The system of grant-in-aid to primary schools did not work satisfactorily. In indigenous elementary schools, the pupils were free to pay their teachers in cash or kind on suitable occasions But in aided primary schools they had to pay regular fees in cash every month, and although the sum of money involved was very small, yet it was not convenient to many parents. Moreover, the grant-in-aid system insisted upon private contributions by the people towards the cost of the schools in addition to the fees paid by students. Sometimes the conditions of the grant-in-aid required people to pay more than half the entire expenditure of the schools. In Bombay, for example, a primary school was to be started by the department if the people were prepared to pay half the salary of the teacher, besides all contingent expenses, to provide and maintain a suitably furnished school building, and to pay the monthly fee of one anna for every boy who should also provide him-

self with the requisite class books. As most of the people were poor, and the rich people, who wanted to send their children to English schools, were unwilling to pay for these schools, adequate subscriptions for primary schools could not be collected.

The Government also could not find adequate funds for the expansion of Primary Education The additional grants allocated to education were disproportionately absorbed[1] by the newly created departments of education while the expansion of English education continued unabated. Very little money was thus available for the promotion of Primary Education.

Again, since imparting of Western knowledge through the medium of the vernacular became the aim of Primary Education and since indigenous institutions could not achieve this aim without a violent reform, most of them disappeared or were changed beyond recognition. Even in Thomason's North-Western Provinces his original plan of encouraging indigenous institutions had to be abandoned in favour of "*Halka-bandi*" schools. According to this system, several villages were grouped together for the purpose of education. An elementary school was established in a central village so that no boy from other villages of the circle had to walk for more than two miles. A small percentage of the land revenue had to be voluntarily paid by the land-owners for the upkeep of such schools. In Bengal a "circle system" was adopted according to which Government employed '*pundits*', "each of whom was attached to a circle of three or four village schools under their own '*gurus*' or masters The '*gurus*' received grants equal to those earned by their pupils, every one of whom,

[1] In his Despatch of 1859 the Secretary of State for India complained that the administration of the education departments consumed a disproportionate share of public funds allotted to Education (see para 40)

on attaining a certain standard, was rewarded according to his progress."[2]

In the face of all these shortcomings it is difficult to agree with Sir Philip Hartog that as a result of Wood's Despatch "an educational policy was evolved as part of a general policy to govern India in the interests of India, and to develop her intellectual resources to the utmost for her own benefit."[3] Mr. M. R. Paranjpe makes a suitable reply in the following words:

"The Despatch does not even refer to the ideal of universal literacy although it expects education to spread over a wide field through the grant-in-aid system, it does not recognize the obligation of the State to educate every child below a certain age, it does not declare that poverty shall be no bar to the education of deserving students".[4]

The progress made in Primary Education during the period of five years immediately following Wood's Despatch can be judged from the statistics mentioned in the Despatch of 1859 written by the Secretary of State for India The total number of institutions of all kinds, both Government and aided, was about 1500 towards the end of the Company's rule. The number of pupils reading in "Inferior schools", by which primary schools seem to have been meant, was 7,097 in Bengal, 6,588 in North-Western Provinces, 1,769 in Madras and 23,846 in Bombay The grants-in-aid sanctioned to all private institutions up to the 30th April, 1857 were as follows —

In Bengal	*Per Annum*
Missionary schools	Rs. 9,828
Other schools	Rs.68,604

[2] *The Report of the Indian Education Commission* of 1882, p 96
[3] *Some Aspects of Indian Education,* p 23
[4] *Progress of Education,* Poona, July 1941, pp. 51-52. quoted by Messrs Nurullah and Naik *History of Education in India,* (1951 edition), p 216.

	Per Annum
In Madras	
Missionary schools	Rs.28,597
Other schools	Rs. 5,615

Statistics for Bombay and the North-Western Provinces are not available for that period. But we learn from the same source that the institutions in Bengal that taught English, received nearly three times the amount given to vernacular schools, in spite of all the fuss that the Directors of the East India Company had made about the promotion of vernacular education in their famous Despatch of 1854

THE DESPATCH OF 1859

While the Secretary of State for India approved in general the educational policy enunciated by Wood's Despatch, he envisaged far reaching changes as far as the expansion of Primary Education was concerned With regard to the promotion of vernacular education he suggested "It is most important to make the greatest possible use of existing schools and of the masters to whom, however inefficient as teachers, the people have been accustomed to look up with respect" The grant-in-aid system also was not suited "to the supply of vernacular education to the masses of the population," because the people, for reasons of poverty, could not take advantage of it He, therefore, recommended. "The means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government" In order to raise adequate funds for the purpose, he suggested· "An education rate should be imposed from which the cost of all schools throughout the country should be defrayed" In support of his views the Secretary of State quoted a certain Mr. Woodrow as follows:

"The poorest classes do not want schools at all because they are too poor to pay schooling fees and subscriptions,

and because the labour of the children is required to enable them to live. The middle and upper classes will make no sort of sacrifice for the establishment of any but English schools. In fact we expect the peasantry and shopkeepers of Bengal to make sacrifices for education which the same classes in England often refuse to make." Mr. Pratt of the Southern Bengal Division is also quoted as considering the rules of the grant-in-aid system to be "out of place in a country where the value of education is utterly unfelt by the mass of the people, based as they are on the supposition that the people of this country are so desirous of an improved description of instruction that they will pay not only schooling fees, but contributions from private sources." The Secretary of State had, therefore, to admit that the grant-in-aid system, as recommended by Wood's Despatch, was not suited to Primary Education. He thus regarded "the levy of a compulsory rate as the only really effective step to be taken for permanently supplying the deficiency"

As a consequence of this recommendation, local rates were imposed during the decade 1861-71 in all the provinces except Bengal, where the existence of the Permanent Settlement was an obstacle Even before Wood's Despatch, Thomason in the North-Western Provinces had already taken a step in this direction. The local rate in urban areas took the form of a tax on houses and was collected by municipalities. In the absence of any statutory obligation to spend a definite proportion of their income on education, the municipalities contributed only small amounts to education. The percentage of their expenditure on education to their total income ranged from 0.39 in Assam to 5.29 in the Punjab. Consequently in some places, specially in Bombay, part of the money raised from local cess in rural areas, was spent on primary schools in urban areas. People objected to this practice, and insisted that "Municipal Boards must be compelled to make more

adequate povision for Primary Education out of the funds at their disposal."[5]

The administration of the local fund cess differed in different provinces. While in Bombay and Madras income from the local rate was regarded as a fund distinct from the revenue of the Provincial Government, in the Northern provinces the local fund was looked upon as Government revenue placed at the disposal of the District and Municipal Boards for local expenditure. Any unspent amounts in the latter case lapsed to the Provincial governments. Again, while in Bombay, a definite proportion of the local fund cess, viz, one third, was assigned for education, in Madras no such percentage had been fixed. Opinions also differed whether the part of the local fund cess allocated to education could be spent on higher education also. Again, it was also debated whether the allocations to education from the local fund cess should be regarded as public contributions, and in consequence the Government should give additional grants to education, or they should be regarded as funds given out of Government revenue, and so the question of grant-in-aid did not arise

Some of these controversies were finally resolved by the Government of India Circular No 63 of February 11th, 1871. The Circular admitted that "the grant-in-aid rules have in practice, been found so unsuitable to primary schools, that except in special cases, such grants-in-aid are seldom sanctioned from the general revenues It has, moreover, been repeatedly affirmed that we must look to local exertions and to local cesses to supply funds required for the maintenance of primary schools." It accepted the principle that "Primary Education must be supported both by imperial funds and by local rates." It also tried to fix the limits of the State contribution. "A rule, however, should be laid down that State contribution is not to exceed one half of the

[5] *The Report of the Indian Education Commission* of 1882, p 154

aggregate contributions from all other sources, or one-third of the total expenditure on education in the schools concerned."

As a consequence of this clarification, regular grants began to be given to Primary Education from provincial funds. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 found that the total expenditure on Primary Education in British India in 1881-82 was Rs. 69,64,000.[6] Rs 16,77,000 came from the provincial funds, Rs 24,88,000 from the Local Board and Municipal funds, Rs. 17,82,000 from fees and Rs 10,17,000 from other sources. Between 1871 and 1882, the number of departmental schools (together with indigenous schools incorporated in the department) rose from 16,473 schools with 607,320 pupils to 82, 916 schools with 2,061,541 pupils. But viewed from the point of view of the need of the country, that progress could not be regarded as satisfactory. The position cannot be summed up better than in the words of the Indian Education Commission of 1882. "The most advanced province of India still fails to teach 75 per cent of its male children of the school-going age and 98 per cent of its female children of that age, while in one province, with its total population of both sexes exceeding 44 millions, nearly 92 boys in every hundred are growing up in ignorance, and female education has hardly begun to make any progress."[7]

The Indian Education Commission of 1882

Its terms of Reference

The Government of India resolution which appointed the Commission also set down its terms of reference. The resolution expressed "the desire of the Governor-General-in-Council that the Commission should specially bear in

[6] *The Report of the Indian Education* of 1882, pp. 1667-7.
[7] ibid , p 584

mind the great importance which the Government attaches to the subject of Primary Education." It pointed out that although "the development of elementary education was one of the main objects contemplated by the Despatch of 1854", yet "there can, His Excellency-in-Council believes, be very little doubt that owing to a variety of circumstances, more progress has up to the present time been made in high and middle than in Primary Education" The instructions to the Commission were, therefore, "to inquire particularly . . . . into the manner in which effect has been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such measures as it may think desirable in order to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." The Commission was also asked to consider how further extension of the grant-in-aid system could be brought about, "because, apart altogether from the consequent pecuniary relief to Government, it is chiefly in this way that the Native Community will be able to secure that freedom and variety of education, which is an essential condition in any sound and complete educational system."

Recommendations About Indigenous Education

Prior to the Commission's appointment, there had been little or no effort to encourage indigenous schools Indeed, the Committees of Public Instruction that had been formed in the twenties of the 19th century, and the Education Departments that came into existence later as a result of Wood's recommendations, neglected them Even where some half-hearted efforts were made to incorporate the indigenous schools in the departmental system, the Education Departments insisted upon a thorough-going reform of a far reaching nature.

An indigenous school was defined by the Commission as "one established or conducted by natives of India on native

methods." Adam's rejected recommendation that indigenous schools should form the basis of a national education in India found its support for the first time when the Commission said, "All indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognised and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education whatsoever." "Gradual improvement in indigenous schools" was to be brought about "with as little immediate interference with their personnel or curriculum as possible" and "special encouragement" was to be afforded to indigenous schoolmasters to undergo training, and to bring their relatives and probable successors under regular training" "The registration, supervision, and encouragement of indigenous elementary schools, whether aided or unaided", was to be entrusted to Municipal and Local Boards which were "to establish fresh schools of their own only where the preferable alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted." Indigenous schools for elementary education were to be given "free play and development", and any aid given to them was to be "a charge against the funds at the disposal of Local and Municipal Boards where such exist." The curricula and standards of examination were to be elastic in order "to suit each Province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous systems, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction." Aided indigenous schools, other than those registered as special schools, were "to be open to all classes and castes of the Community, special aid being, if necessary, assignable on account of low caste pupils"

Recommendations about Primary Education

The Government of India resolution had desired that "the Commission should specially bear in mind the great

importance which the Government attaches to the subject of Primary Education" The Commission, therefore, paid special attention to this section of its report. Primary Education was to "be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University." Realizing the inadequacy of the Government effort so far made for the promotion of Primary Education, the Commission recommended. "While every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore," and "that Primary Education be declared to be that part of the whole system of Public Instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues." The principle of aiding and improving indigenous schools was also to be "recognised as an important means of extending elementary education", and an attempt was to "be made to secure the fullest possible provision for, and extension of, Primary Education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province" "The standards of primary examinations" were to "be revised with a view to simplification, and to the larger introduction of practical subjects"; but no attempt was to be made "to secure general uniformity throughout India." "As much elasticity as possible" was "to be permitted both as regards the hours of the day and the seasons of the year during which the attendance of scholars" was required While "the freedom of managers of aided schools in the choice of textbooks" was to be

maintained, all inspecting officers and teachers were "to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct and the character of the children." Physical development was to be promoted "by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school-drill and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of schools."

Both Municipal and Local Boards were to keep a separate school fund consisting of a "fair proportion" of total revenues, the fees, any assignment from Provincial funds, any money received for the promotion of education and any unexpended balance of the school-fund from previous years. If in a Municipal or Local Board school there was a minority representing a number of pupils sufficient to form one or more separate classes or schools and wishing to be instructed through a medium other than the vernacular of the majority, such classes or schools were to be established and "a fair proportion of the whole assignable funds" was to be spent on them.

To encourage Primary Education the principle of Lord Hardinge's Resolution of 1844, that for "the lowest offices under Government, preference be always given to candidates who can read and write", was reaffirmed The governments of Bombay and the North-Western Provinces were also to be requested to consider the advisability of carrying out Wood's suggestion "of making some educational qualification necessary to the confirmation of hereditary village officers, such as Patels and Lambardars"

Aid to primary schools was to be "regulated to a large extent according to the results of examinations", but an exception might be made "in the case of schools established in backward districts or under peculiar circumstances." All Municipal or Local Board schools were to charge fees and to keep admission open to all castes and classes except in aided schools "registered as special schools". But such

a proportion between special and other primary schools was to "be maintained in each school district as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all castes." A certain proportion of pupils was also "admissible as free students on the ground of poverty."

The achievement of the Indian Education Commission of 1882 was summed up ten years later by its Chairman, W. W. Hunter himself in the following words:

"It carefully examined the condition of education in each province, indicated defects, and laid down principles for further development The results of its labours have been to place public instruction on a broader and more popular basis, to encourage private enterprise in teaching, to give a more adequate recognition to the indigenous schools, and to provide that the education of the people shall advance at a more equal pace along with the instruction of the higher classes Female education and the instruction of certain backward classes of the community, such as the Muhammadans, received special attention from the Commission. The general effect of the recommendations is to develop the Department of Public Instruction into a system of truly national education for India, conducted and supervised in an increasing degree by the people themselves."[8]

Every student of the history of Indian education knows very well that most of these claims are extravagant. The "adequate recognition" of indigenous schools led to their complete disappearance from the country by the end of the last century As far as Government's efforts to make Primary Education keep pace with higher education are concerned, the expenditure on Primary Education from Government funds rose from Rs. 16.77 lakhs in 1881-82 to only Rs 16 92 lakhs in 1901-02 The local bodies, however,

[8] *The Indian Empire* (1893), p. 562, quoted also in *Modern India and the West*, edited by L. S. S. O'Malley, p 161.

raised their expenditure on Primary Education from Rs. 24.9 lakhs in 1881-2 to Rs 46.1 lakhs in 1901-02. The Report of the Indian Education Commission lacked vision and a proper appreciation of the magnitude of the problem, and there was not even a distant indication of the possibility of universal Primary Education. The system of payment by results recommended by the Commission for primary schools also did not succeed. According to the Quinquennial Review, 1902-1907 "This system, notorious by the name of payment by results, is universally acknowledged to have been a failure wherever it has been introduced."

In 1882, Lord Ripon took a very important step in the form of introducing a real element of local self-government in the local bodies which had been formerly official committees full of Government nominees and presided over by official chairmen. It was to these newly constituted local bodies that the responsibility for Primary Education was transferred in keeping with the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission Rules were also framed in almost all provinces fixing the minimum percentage of their total incomes that the local bodies were expected to spend on Primary Education There was, however, no uniformity about these rules. In some places it was decided that local bodies should not spend any money on higher education till the claims of Primary Education were fully satisfied.

During the period of twenty years between 1882 and 1902, the contribution of the local bodies, as has already been mentioned above, nearly doubled. But in the absence of any material increase from Government funds, sufficient progress could not be made The local bodies too could not vigorously levy an education cess for fear of displeasing their electorate, and the demand for more money for the expansion of Primary Education could not be met.

An idea about the progress of Primary Education bet-

ween 1882 and 1902 can be formed from the following tables, compiled from the statistics given in the Government of India Resolution of 1904:

Primary Schools and Scholars in British India (1882-1902)

Year	*No of Primary Schools*	*Number of Pupils*
1881-82	82,916	2,061,541
1891-92	97,107	2,837,607
1901-02[9]	98,538	3,268,726
		(Including Burma)

Expenditure on Primary Education (1882-1902)

	SOURCES	
Year	*From Provincial Funds*	*From Local Board & Municipal Funds*
1881-82[10]	Rs.16,77,000	Rs 24,88,000
1891-92	Rs.13,43,343	Rs 35,86,208
1901-02	Rs 16,92,514	Rs.46,10,387

Government of India Resolution of 1904 on Primary Education

Although Lord Curzon concentrated on the reform of Universities and institutions of higher education, he did not leave Primary Education entirely untouched The Government of India Resolution of 1904 which embodied most of Curzon's ideas on education is at once a nice assessment of the progress of Primary Education in the preceding years and an indicator to show in what direction it should move in future.

The Resolution of 1904 defined Primary Education as "the instruction of the masses, through the vernacular, in

[9] The 11th Quinquennial Review (pp 58-59) gives different figures for this year, viz., 97,854 primary schools with 3,204,336 scholars

[10] Figures for this year come from the *Indian Education Commission Report* (1882), pp. 166-7.

such subjects as will best stimulate their intelligence and fit them for their position in life" It agreed with Lord Lawrence's statement made in 1868 that "among all the sources of difficulty in our administration, and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people," and therefore announced that "the Government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of Primary Education is one of the most important duties of the State." It pointed out the need for Primary Education on another ground also An illiterate cultivator was at a great disadvantage because he had been brought into closer contact with the commercial world by the extension of railways "The material benefits attaching to education have at the same time increased with development of schemes for introducing improved agricultural methods, for opening agricultural banks; for strengthening the legal position of the cultivator, and for generally improving the conditions of rural life. Such schemes depend largely for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses and rendering them accessible to ideas other than those sanctioned by tradition." It then pointed out the unsatisfactory state of Primary Education in the country. Out of over eighteen million boys of the school going age, only a sixth were actually receiving Primary Education. According to the census of 1901, "only one in ten of the male population and only seven in a thousand of the female population were literate." The expansion of Primary Education had not kept pace with the need of the growing population. "Nor has the rate of growth of Primary schools kept pace with that of Secondary schools, in which the number of scholars has considerably more than doubled during the last twenty years." The Resolution, therefore, arrived at the following conclusion:

"On a general view of the question the Government of

India cannot avoid the conclusion that Primary Education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of public funds."

The Resolution, therefore, laid down a policy not materially different from that recommended by the Indian Education Commission of 1882. "They (i.e. the Government of India) consider that it (i.e. Primary Education) possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the local governments, and should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues, and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation."

Lord Curzon also did away with the notorious system of payment by results and raised the Government grant from one third of the total expenditure to one half of the total expenditure on Primary Education He emphasized better methods of teaching in primary schools and tried to introduce them by encouraging the training of the primary school teachers and by increasing their salaries. He also wanted the courses for rural schools to be somewhat differentiated from those of urban schools "The aim of the rural school should be, not to impart definite agricultural teaching, but to give to the children a preliminary training which will make them intelligent cultivators, will train them to be observers, thinkers and experimenters in however humble a manner, and protect them in their business transactions with the landlords to whom they pay rent and the grain dealers to whom they dispose of their crops." The reading books prescribed were to be written in simple language, not in unfamiliar literary style, and were to deal with topics associated with rural life.

Critical Observations

Before Wood's Despatch, the Government paid little or no attention to the education of the masses. Their only aim was to provide a higher type of education to a few people with leisure and money in the hope that their knowledge and culture would filter down to the masses. This policy has come to be known as the *Downward Filtration Theory* But this hope, for a variety of reasons, was never fulfilled. Indeed, English education created in caste-ridden India yet another caste—the class of English-knowing people as distinct from those who did not know it.

Although Wood's Despatch realised the need of educating the masses in useful knowledge through the medium of the vernacular, Secondary Education through the medium of English continued to expand unchecked, so that the Indian Education Commission of 1882 felt that Primary Education had not received due attention and a proper share of public funds, and recommended that "the strenuous efforts" of the Government should be directed towards its promotion. When the departments of education came into existence, soon after Wood's recommendations, they started their own primary schools and also incorporated at some places a few indigenous schools into their new system. But indigenous primary schools were generally allowed to die out on the ground that they were inefficient and worthless. That they had many defects such as unsuitable buildings, lack of equipment, inefficient teachers, irregular hours of work, absence of printed text-books, etc., cannot be denied. But they had fulfilled the needs of the people for a long time. They were capable of improvement. Indeed, their efficiency in some respects fetched a tribute from some Europeans themselves. Mention has already been made of the Monitorial System which was copied by Dr. Bell from indigenous Indian schools and introduced into

England. According to Sir George Campbell,[11] at these indigenous schools boys learnt to read and write, to count and to cipher with a rapidity and accuracy which would put to shame many a skilled European accountant Instead of establishing a rival system of Primary Education, the existing system should have been improved and modified to suit the changing social conditions. This step was all the more necessary because the Government could not expect to provide funds for an adequate number of new primary schools needed by the country.

Realising the "impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India," Wood's Despatch suggested a system of grant-in-aid to primary schools on the condition that over and above the tuition fees of the pupils, the people must also contribute some money for the maintenance of the schools. Because of poor people's inability and rich people's unwillingness to pay for these new primary schools, the system of grant-in-aid did not work Other sources of income had to be tapped. Local bodies like District Boards and Municipalities were created and the responsibility for Primary Education was generally entrusted to them They were expected to spend a part of their income on the promotion of Primary Education in their areas and also to impose an education cess. The new system of Primary Education expanded rapidly between 1871 and 1882 and more slowly afterwards. As a result of the Indian Education Commission's recommendation regarding help from provincial revenues, Primary Education expanded during the last quarter of the 19th century though it could not keep pace with the expansion of Secondary Education.

The greatest defect of the educational policy, which continued to exist unremedied during the first quarter of

[11] *Memoirs of My Indian Career* (1893), Vol II, p. 321.

the twentieth century also, was a total lack of a concrete programme. The Government never tried to make an estimate of the number of primary schools needed by the country or to work out the details of how, with the resources at their disposal, they could be established within a specified period. The only aim seemed to be expansion, and if every year the number of schools increased and the expenditure on their maintenance increased, they felt perfectly satisfied. As has been very well said by somebody, they concentrated their attention on "the little done" and entirely ignored "the vast undone." The population of the country has been increasing at a fast rate, so that even if there is a slight increase in the percentage of literacy, it does not mean that the number of illiterates has become smaller.

In certain respects, however, the new type of primary schools that replaced the indigenous ones were an improvement Not only had they buildings of their own, but they were also better staffed Printed text-books and better methods of instruction came into use, although it was unfortunate that in view of inadequate funds and teachers, advantage was not generally taken of the monitorial system. From the point of view of the curriculum the gain cannot be called a decided improvement The subjects taught in indigenous schools kept the practical problems of life in view. But "in spite of attempted reforms and innovations the present curriculum is more or less a miniature replica of the Secondary course, just as narrowly theoretical and bookish as the latter."[12]

Lord Curzon's suggestions did not aim at reorganising the system of Primary Education In one respect, however, he showed a remarkable insight. He realised that the extension of Primary Education in adequate measure

[12] A N Basu's article, "Primary Education" in 15 *Years Ahead*, published by the Bombay Radio Press, Bombay, 1946.

could not be achieved by the local bodies and therefore recommended that it must be regarded as "one of the most important duties of the State." He also correctly pointed out that in view of the different needs of village children the curriculum of rural primary schools should be different from that of the schools in urban areas.

CHAPTER IX

THE EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE COMPULSION (1910-1937)

BEFORE Lord Curzon the promotion of Primary Education was the chief responsibility of the local bodies although the provincial governments also gave some money. But the Government of India Resolution of 1904 explicitly stated "that the active extension of Primary Education is one of the foremost duties of the State." This statement immediately led to an increase in the Government grant for Primary Education and indirectly formed the basis for the demand, a few years later, that the State should accept the responsibility for compulsory Primary Education in the country.

Again, before Lord Curzon, the system of grant-in-aid was rather irregular. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1902-07, points out: "Some of the grants run annually, some for a term of years, some are of an amount exactly ascertainable beforehand and prescribed in the code, others are determined at the end of the year on fixed principles, others depend upon the discretion of the authorities after considering the circumstances of the school......... .....Some provinces make no conditions as to the funds that shall be forthcoming from private sources to meet the grant, others make conditions under which the amount to be supplied from private sources ranges from one-sixth (Assam) to two-thirds of the expenditure (Bombay), one excludes the fees and another includes the fees, when reckoning the private sources." After the Resolution of 1904 the assessment of grants began to take all or some of the following factors into consideration. number of teachers and their qualifica-

tions, number of scholars and the regularity of their attendance, subjects taught and the efficiency of teaching as judged by inspection, examination, and the number of children in the upper classes, general need and merits of the schools, contribution from private sources etc.

Because of these two measures, Primary Education received a stimulus. The number increased from 1,12,930 primary schools with 39,37,866 pupils in 1906-07 to 1,23,578 primary schools with 49,88,142 pupils in 1911-12. The expenditure also increased from Rs.1,55,53,512 to Rs.2,07,26,145.[1]

While this progress seemed to be quite satisfactory to all Government officials, most of whom thought there remained nothing else to worry about, Indian opinion, much concerned at the appalling state of illiteracy in the country, began to be vocal about the inadequacy of Primary Education. As K. G. Saiyidain has pointed out "Some idea of the size of the problem can be gathered from the sobering fact that in 1907 only 36 lakhs out of 180 lakhs of boys of school-going age were actually at school, i.e., 80 out of 100 boys had no schooling whatever—good, bad or indifferent—and 'being at school', as we shall see later, is by no means synonymous with achieving literacy! This leaves the girls entirely out of the picture, as their percentage was still to be computed in decimal fractions."[2]

People began to think in terms of compulsory Primary Education to solve the great problems of illiteracy that faced the country. The lead in the matter was taken by the State of Baroda when, in 1906, an Act for introducing compulsory Primary Education was passed The first definite demand for the introduction of compulsory Primary Education was made by Shri G K. Gokhale in March 1910,

[1] All these figures have been taken from the *Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, Vol II, pp 58-60

[2] *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, No. 15, p. 8.

when he moved the following resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council:

"That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame definite proposals."

But the motion was withdrawn on an assurance from the Government that the demand would be considered sympathetically. But as the Government did little in this respect, Gokhale, a year later, introduced another bill "to make better provision for the extension of elementary education". Explaining the scope and nature of the Bill he said, "The Bill is of a purely permissive character and its provision will apply to areas notified by municipalities or district boards which will have to bear such proportion of the increased expenditure which will be necessitated, as may be laid down by the Government of India, by rules." Moreover, the introduction was subject to the approval of the provincial government which was to give its sanction only after satisfying itself that an adequate percentage of children were at school. Even Sir Harcourt Butler, Government spokesman, while opposing the Bill admitted: "It is in itself a most modest and unassuming measure. It is full of safeguards—so full of safeguards that it seems to many likely to remain a dead letter."[3] But even such a modest bill with numerous safeguards was opposed by all official members and some of the non-official members also. The motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee was defeated by 38 votes to 13. Among the Government reasons for the rejection of Gokhale's Bill were that persuasion should be exhausted before compulsion was resorted to, that there was no popular demand for the

[3]Quoted in a footnote by A. N. Basu. *Education in Modern India*, p. 55.

measure, that a section of educated Indians were opposed to it, that Local Authorities would be unwilling to increase existing taxes or impose new ones to raise the necessary funds, that the Provincial Governments were not in favour of the Bill, that there would be numerous administrative difficulties in the enforcement of compulsion, etc. To quote Saiyidain again, "The point to be noted, however, is that these arguments could commend themselves only to those who were opposed *ab initio* to the principle and the ideals underlying the Bill, and who were not prepared to face all its financial and administrative implications and difficulties It was a crucial test of the lip-devotion to the cause of education, and neither the officials nor many of the non-officials emerged well out of it."[4]

While apparently Shri Gokhale's efforts seem to have failed, they did stimulate Government activity in the field of Primary Education. Both the King's declaration on the occasion of his coronation, and the Government of India Resolution of 1913, emphasized the need of a rapid expansion of Primary Education.

During his visit to India (1911-12), in connection with his coronation, His Majesty King George V declared: "It is my wish that there may spread over the land a network of schools and colleges from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life."[5] An annual grant of fifty lakhs of rupees for popular education was also announced and this gave a great impetus to Primary Education mentioned before. Because of the controversies and confusion that reigned, it became necessary in 1913 for the Government of India to announce their educational policy in the form of a resolution.

[4] *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, No. 15, p 9.
[5] His Majesty's reply to the address of welcome presented by the University of Calcutta on Jan 6, 1912

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RESOLUTION OF 1913

While admitting that Primary Education should have "a predominant claim upon the public funds," the Government of India refused to recognise the principle of compulsory education "for financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight" but desired "the widest possible extension of Primary Education on a voluntary basis" The Government thought it impracticable "to dispense wholly with fees" because "a total remission of fees would involve to a certain extent a more prolonged postponement of a provision of schools in villages without them." The Resolution revealed "Local governments have been requested to extend the application of the principle of free elementary education amongst the poorer and more backward sections of the popluation."

The Government of India laid down the following principles for the expansion and improvement of Primary Education:

(a) There should be a large expansion of lower primary schools teaching the three R's with Drawing, knowledge of the village map, nature study and physical exercises

(b) Upper primary schools should be established at suitable centres and, where necessary, lower primary schools should be developed into upper primary schools

(c) Aided schools under recognised management should be encouraged only when, for financial reasons, expansion by means of Board schools was impossible. Those *maktabs* and *pathshalas* which were prepared to undertake the teaching of general knowledge through the vernacular should be given liberal subsidies "Venture schools" were not to be encouraged except under strict conditions.

(d) It was difficult to draw any great distinction between the curricula of rural and of urban primary schools, but in the latter class of schools there was special scope for practical teaching of Geography, school excursions, etc. and the nature study course should vary with the environment.

(e) Trained teachers drawn from the class of the boys whom they were to teach should be preferred. They should not receive less than Rs 12 per month together with the benefit of a pension or provident fund.

(f) Schools should be housed in sanitary and commodious but inexpensive buildings. These principles for immediate guidance were not intended to put any limits on government aspirations, but it was "the desire and hope of the Government of India to see in the not distant future some 91,000 primary public schools added to the 100,000 which already exist for boys, and to double the 4½ millions of the pupils who now receive instruction in them."

Thus we see that the Resolution of 1913 failed to give any new lead but suggested only useful details for carrying out the existing policy with regard to Primary Education Its expansion was still to be attempted through the instrumentality of Local Boards, supplemented by grants-in-aid to encourage private efforts.

Right from Wood's Despatch of 1854 down to the Government of India Resolution of 1913 the need and importance of Primary Education had been constantly emphasized. "But the recognition of the greatness of the problem," as H R. James has pointed out, "and affirmation of the duty of accepting responsibility for it, though valuable as incitements to effort, leave things just as they were, until words and intentions take shape in action."[6] As we

[6] *Education and Statesmanship in India*, p 97.

have already seen, in spite of over half a century's effort at improving and expanding Primary Education, only less than twenty per cent. of the boys of the school-going age could find their way into schools of any kind.

Even the increasing number of the Government-sponsored primary schools and of the scholars reading in them was no sign of real progress because most of the boys entering primary schools did not stay there long enough to attain permanent literacy. The Hartog Committee in 1929 found an "appalling waste" in Primary Education[7] Chapter XVII of this Committee's report is a very good commentary on the progress of Primary Education in India

Even as late as 1913, the British Government in India was not prepared to accept the principle of compulsion, but wanted to expand Primary Education on "a voluntary basis." Has any country in the world ever eliminated illiteracy without compulsion of some sort at the initial stage?

The measures to improve Primary Education taken during this period did serve their limited purpose, but were hardly calculated to face the real problems of the country squarely. Through Shri Vithalbhai Patel's effort in Bombay, the principle of compulsion was accepted there at least theoretically

FROM THE "MONTFORD" REFORMS TO THE HARTOG COMMITTEE, 1919-1929

Partly because the Indian troops played a magnificent part in the Great War (1914-18), and partly because the Congress leaders demanded a clear declaration of the British objectives in India, Mr. Montague announced in 1917 that "the policy of His Majesty's Government" was "that of the increasing association and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the pro-

[7] *Report of the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission,* p 345.

gressive realization of responsible government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire."[8] As a consequence, a report on Indian Constitutional Reforms was jointly prepared by Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford and the Government of India Act, which was based on it, was passed in 1919. This Act, popularly known as the "Montford" Reforms, came into operation in 1921.

The main constitutional changes affected provincial administration Each of the larger provinces was placed in charge of a Governor who had both an Executive Council and a body of Indian Ministers to help him. The departments of the administration were grouped as "reserved" and "transferred" The reserved departments which generally included law and order, revenue and finance were administered by the Governor-in-Council, but the transferred departments which generally included local self-government, education, sanitation, economic development etc. were administered by "the Governor acting with his ministers," to use the official phrase. This dual arrangement of the administration of the provinces came to be known as 'dyarchy' or 'rule of the two'. While the Governor-in-Council was responsible, through the Government of India, to the Secretary of State for India, the Indian ministers were responsible to the provincial legislatures for their respective departments.

Thus for the first time education in different provinces passed into the hands of Indian ministers. But even these ministers had the power only to prepare paper schemes which could not be carried into effect without money, and the purse-strings were held by the Governor and his executive councillors. The provincial governments were all the more unwilling to allocate adequate funds to education because they had to pay to the Central Government

[8] Quoted in *A Short History of India* by W. H Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee, p 455.

large contributions which became the first charge on their revenues. A large-scale expansion and reorganisation of education was, therefore, out of the question.

The ministers' control of education was limited in several other respects also. Centrally administered universities like the Banaras Hindu University, special institutions for Indian chiefs, for His Majesty's forces or other public servants or their children, and the education of the Anglo Indians and Europeans were beyond their control. They had no voice in the establishment, constitution and functions of a new University or its jurisdiction outside the province. Even the reorganisation of Secondary Education in Bengal for a period of five years was not within their power.

Nor were these the only difficulties of the Indian ministers. The key-posts in the Education Department were held by members of the Indian Educational Service who did not sympathise with the Indian ideas of reconstruction. Even when in 1924 recruitment to All-India Services operating in transferred fields was stopped, and the principle that local government should recruit the personnel for such services was recognised, little immediate results could follow The old Indian Educational Service men continued to dominate the education departments. The ministers complained that their policies were not carried out by the chief executive officers, and the latter complained of ministerial interference in their day to day executive work Owing to mutual recrimination, little direction into healthy channels could be given to the course of Indian education.

The Non-Co-operation Movement

The "Montford" Reforms were not regarded as satisfactory by the Indian National Congress, and so Mahatma

Gandhi launched his movement of non-co-operation with the Government. It was decided to boycott all Government-sponsored schools and to replace them with national institutions more suited to the needs of the Indian people 'Vidyapiths' or national universities were established at Calcutta, Patna, Ahmedabad and other places. Even at Aligarh, where the Muslim University already existed, another National Muslim University was started. (This was later transferred to Delhi where it thrives under the name of Jamia Millia). Between 1920 and 1922, the enrolment of high schools fell by over 37,000 and that of colleges by over 6,000.[9] But when the agitation subsided, many of the national institutions disappeared almost as quickly as they had appeared By 1922 the political situation had already returned to normal and the financial stringency was also over. There was a renewed enthusiasm for education so that the expansion of education between 1922 and 1927, as we shall see, was quite impressive. But the nationalist movement could not directly influence the general course of education to any great extent.

Expansion of Primary Education

While between 1917 and 1922 the number of pupils in the recognised primary schools rose from 6,404,200[10] to 6,897,147, an increase of 7 7%, the total number in 1927 reached 9,247,617, giving an increase of 34·08% during the preceding five years. The total expenditure on recognised primary schools rose from Rs.2,93,13,545 in 1917 to Rs 5,09,08,107 in 1922 and to Rs 6,95,21,696 in 1927. The increase in the number of recognised primary school pupils during the quinquennium 1922-27 was out of all proportion

[9] J. R Cunningham in *Modern India And the West* (edited by L.S.S O'Malley), p 172.

[10] *The Hartog Committee Report*, pp. 22-23

to the increase in the total expenditure on Primary Education As a consequence, the quality of education must have further deteriorated But the increase in numbers and a slight increase in the total expenditure were hailed by Government officials as signs of great progress. The *Tenth Quinquennial Review* explained the causes of the great expansion between 1922 and 1927 as follows.

"A burst of enthusiasm swept children into schools with unparalleled rapidity, an almost child-like faith in the value of education was implanted in the minds of people; parents were prepared to make almost any sacrifice for the education of their children; the seed of tolerance towards the less fortunate in life was begotten, ambitious and comprehensive programmes of development were formulated, which were calculated to fulfil the dreams of a literate India, the Muslim community, long backward in education, pressed forward with eagerness to obliterate past deficiencies, enlightened women began to storm the citadel of old time prejudice against the education of Indian girls, Government with the full concurrence of the Legislative Council, poured out large sums of money on education, which would have been regarded as beyond the realm of practical politics ten years previously."[11]

This rosy picture seems to be very much exaggerated We have already seen that during the quinquennium (1922-27) while the percentage of increase in the number of primary school pupils was nearly five times that in the preceding quinquennium, the actual increase in the total expenditure was nearly half that of the preceding quinquennium. The unsatisfactory state of Primary Education in other respects was pointed out by the Hartog Committee only two years later.

The most important development in the sphere of Primary Education was the passing of the Compulsory Edu-

[11] *The Tenth Quinquennial Review*, Vol I, p. 3.

cation Acts in most of the provinces. What Gokhale failed to achieve for the whole of India in 1911, Shri Vithalbhai Patel achieved, at least in theory, for Bombay. In 1918, Bombay passed its Primary Education Act, permitting municipalities to introduce compulsory education in their areas, under certain conditions. Other provinces also followed suit. Within a few years, Acts aiming at compulsory Primary Education were passed in most of the provinces, like the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, Bengal and Madras. The provisions of the Acts in different provinces were more or less similar. The Acts transferred large powers of administration and control over Primary Education to the local authorities like the District or Municipal Boards or the District Education Council in Madras or the District School Board in Bengal. These local authorities were to prepare schemes for the expansion and development of Primary Education within their jurisdictions, and could introduce compulsion, subject to the approval of the provincial governments which were to give such financial assistance as was needed for the purpose The local authorities were also given the power to levy an education cess in order to meet the additional expenditure on Primary Education The age of compulsion ranged from 6 to 11 years, the compulsory period being 4 years in some provinces and 5 years in others While compulsory education was to be free in some provinces, it was not to be ordinarily free in others. If the children of the compulsory age-group did not attend schools, their parents and employers could be prosecuted.

The introduction of compulsion in all the Acts was left to the discretion of the local bodies who were hardly ready to court unpopularity by levying any additional cess With the existing provincial resources of income, the Acts could have little more than symbolic value. By 1927 only the following areas had compulsion:

AREAS UNDER COMPULSION BY PROVINCES[12]

Provinces	*Municipalities and Urban Areas*	*District Boards and Rural Areas*
Madras	21	3
Bombay	11	-
Bengal	—	-
United Provinces	25	-
Punjab	57	1,499
Bihar & Orissa	1	3
Central Provinces & Berar	3	66
Assam	-	-
Delhi	1	-
Total	119	1,571

Explaining the causes of this slow progress, the Hartog Committee says: "Apart from technical flaws in the statutes, the main difficulties up to the present have been due to the lack of experience and, in some cases, of interest on the part of Local Boards, or to the inaction or inexperience of attendance officers and committees, to unwillingness to make use of the power of prosecution under the Acts and the delay in the conviction of defaulters."

THE HARTOG COMMITTEE

The Indian Statutory Commission appointed an Auxiliary Committee to review the growth of education in British India. The Committee submitted its report in 1929, and is popularly known as the Hartog Committee after its chairman, Sir Philip Hartog.

SCOPE OF INQUIRY

The members of the Hartog Committee "devoted far more attention to mass education than to Secondary and University education, because the condition of the former

[12] *The Hartog Committee Report*, p. 85.

appeared to us (i.e members of the Committee) far less satisfactory than that of the latter, and this is due in part to the fact that while much attention has been paid in the past to the consideration of the higher forms of education, the problems of Primary Education have been comparatively neglected."[13]

Indications of Progress

After a brief survey of Indian Educational Policy the Committee found the following indications of progress: "The percentage of increase between 1917 and 1927 in the primary stage was 44.4, in the middle stage 63 87, in the high stage 9 54 and in the collegiate stage 44.71. The number of male pupils increased by 45.1 per cent and the number of female pupils by 51 43 per cent"[14] There had been corresponding increase in the total expenditure on education during the period, "the expenditure on primary schools increasing by over 4 crores, on secondary schools by over 3½ crores and on universities and arts and professional colleges by over 1½ crores."

Mass Education

The control of Primary Education was distributed among aided and unaided agencies, District and Municipal Boards and Government. Out of a total of 1,62,666 boys' primary schools in British India, 11,617 were unaided, 92,104, aided, 56,598 District and Municipal Board schools and only 2,347 Government schools. And out of a total of 26,682 girls' primary schools in British India, 3,350 were unaided, 17,149 aided, 5,838 District and Municipal Board schools and only 345 Government schools[15] This distribution of

[13] *The Hartog Committee Report*, pp. 3-4.
[14] ibid, p. 29.
[15] ibid, p 35.

control was not conducive to the introduction of compulsion or other effective measures. Indeed, the Hartog Committee said, "Nothing short of a strong, concerted and well-directed effort will redeem it (i.e., mass education) from the waste and ineffectiveness which now exists."[16]

Difficulties of Mass Education

"The problem of mass education in British India is preponderantly a rural problem. Only 12·9 per cent. of the population of 247 millions live in towns . Of the total village population over 179,000,000 live in villages with less than 2,000 inhabitants Over 360,000 villages in British India have a population of under 500 inhabitants and their aggregate population is approximately 70 millions."

While in towns Primary Education was comparatively easy to provide and organise, "in rural areas school units are usually small, adequate staffing is more expensive, the conditions of life are not attractive to teachers unless they are specially selected and trained, women teachers cannot as a rule, live in villages unless circumstances are exceptionally favourable; the teachers are isolated and the difficulties of administration, supervision and inspection are much greater, and it is more difficult to secure regular and prolonged attendance of children "[17]

Among other difficulties were the poverty and improvidence of the majority of agriculturists, their ignorance of the value of education, low density of population ("less than 150 persons to the square mile"[18]) in some areas, epidemics and seasonal illness, differences of caste, religion, com-

[16] *The Hartog Committee Report* p 40.
[17] ibid , p 37
[18] ibid , p 38.

munity and language and the uneconomic multiplicity of segregate schools for the 'untouchables'.

GREAT WASTE AND STAGNATION

The Committee pointed out that "between 1892 and 1922 the percentage of male literates of five years and over in British India increased by only 1 4 per cent (from 13·0 to 14 4), and that of female literates by 1 3 per cent. (from 0 7 to 2·0)."

More than eighty per cent of the pupils who joined the first class of the primary schools in India dropped by the wayside before reaching the fourth class. After carefully examining the statistical data from the different provinces, the Hartog Committee reached the conclusion that in British India as a whole "out of every hundred pupils (boys and girls) who were in class I in 1922-23 only eighteen were reading in class IV in 1925-26."[19] And permanent literacy could not be ensured unless a pupil stayed in a school for at least four years The wastage is thus enormous and it involves an immense waste of money and effort.

RELAPSE INTO ILLITERACY

Some of the few who did stay at a primary school long enough to become literate relapsed later into illiteracy. "The fact that the number of literates in the age-group 10-15 in the Census of 1921 was approximately only half the number of pupils in the age-group 5-10 at school five years previously indicates not only waste but rapid relapse into illiteracy"[20] This was no doubt due to the environment and absence of suitable vernacular literature and to the

[19] *The Hartog Committee Report*, p 47.
[20] ibid, p 49.

absence of any systematic attempt to eliminate adult illiteracy.

Irregular attendance and stagnation of many pupils "in a class for a number of years" were other sources of waste. Again, the three-class primary schools which could not possibly be "expected to affect materially the growth of literacy" numbered "36,000 in Bengal and over 25,000" in Bihar.[21]

In several provinces, in spite of an increase in the number of primary schools and their enrolment, the actual number of students in class IV declined. "In Bengal, in spite of the addition of nearly 11,000 new schools and an increased enrolment of nearly 370,000 pupils, the number of pupils who reach class IV has actually declined."[22] The same was true of Assam and Madras and probably of some other provinces also.

The Hartog Committee agreed with the Royal Commission on Agriculture in their criticism of the curricula of rural primary schools that they were unrelated to the conditions of village life, but thought that "a wise selection and an effective training of the village teachers was more important." Only 44 per cent. primary school teachers in British India were trained and even those who had been selected for training had very low qualifications "scarcely superior to those of the pupils in the highest class of the primary stage".

INSPECTION

The total number of inspectors and inspectresses were reduced between 1917 and 1922, notwithstanding the expansion of education during the quinquennium. The average number of primary schools per inspector varied

[21] *The Hartog Committee Report,* p 51.
[22] ibid, p 59.

from 57 in the Central Provinces to 172 in Bengal. In Bombay there was an almost complete cessation of Government inspection in some districts. The quality of instruction was bound to suffer in these circumstances.

REMEDIES AND IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED BY THE HARTOG COMMITTEE

(i) There should be a policy of concentration rather than that of "multiplication of schools on the lines which have been generally adopted" The multiplication of bad schools was likely to convert apathy into antagonism to education. Moreover, India could neither afford ill-directed expenditure nor could the country afford to wait indefinitely till literacy was achieved.

(ii) The greatest waste being in the three-class lower primary schools, the primary course should be lengthened to one of at least four years.

(iii) "Far-reaching improvements are needed in the quality, training, status and pay of the teacher before real progress can be made."[23] Expansion and improvement of vernacular middle schools, and of training institutions and making the teachers' remuneration and conditions of service attractive enough to retain men of good quality were the crying needs of the time. The efficiency and the interest of the teachers should be maintained through refresher courses and conferences.

(iv) The curricula and the methods of teaching should be brought into greater harmony with the needs and conditions of village children.

(v) Among minor remedies for existing defects the Committee recommended special training of teachers in plural class teaching (i e., the way in which one teacher could teach well several classes), the adjustment of school

[23] *The Hartog Committee Report*, p 74.

hours and holidays to seasonal requirements, the institution of Lower Primary Certificate examination, the undertaking of village uplift and community work by primary schools, etc.

(vi) In order to eliminate waste and stagnation, the lowest class should be placed in the charge of better qualified teachers.

(vii) The inspecting staff should be adequately strengthened.

The Problem of Compulsion

Local option in the matter of compulsion was responsible for inaction. In the opinion of the Committee "the responsibility for mass education rests primarily with the State; and the provision of educational facilities for all classes of the community and for all areas should not be left entirely to the mercy of local authorities, who may be unwilling, either for political or other reasons, to initiate schemes by which compulsion may be financed, or who, owing to the backwardness of the area or the people, may be unable to devise suitable measures for compulsion on their own initiative."[24] But a drastic reorganisation of the elementary system should precede compulsion, as any ill-considered and impetuous application of the principle would involve unprofitable expenditure and other evils. Compulsion should be local and partial in the first instance and should depend on the willingness of an area to adopt it and on the cost entailed. Compulsion could reduce waste only if there was an adequate administrative and inspecting staff

[24] *The Hartog Committee Report,* p 87

From the Hartog Committee to the End of Dyarchy

The period between the Hartog Committee Report and provincial autonomy was marked by great financial stringency. *The Tenth Quinquennial Review* of 1927-32 says, "Economic distress, far exceeding in magnitude and intensity even that experienced in the post-war years, has intervened; expenditure has been cut down in all directions, the pace of expansion has been retarded, political life has been disturbed, communal bitterness has been accentuated."[25] This financial stringency did not end with the quinquennium but continued right to the close of the next. The *Eleventh Quinquennial Review*[26] quotes the reports of the various provinces to the effect that education had suffered a good deal because of the great financial distress. In Bengal "the result for education has been disastrous. What was bad has become worse and what was tolerable has in many instances become bad Improvements long meditated and long overdue had to be postponed indefinitely, and instead of even normal progress, there was at many points a visible retrogression."[27]

The first five years immediately following the Hartog Committee's Report were also disturbed by political agitation in the country. Another, and a minor, cause of the slow progress in education was possibly the policy of consolidation in preference to that of expansion recommended by the Hartog Committee.

"There was a gradual increase in the number of institutions from 1926-27 to the beginning of 1931-32 when an annual increase of about two to three thousand schools was suddenly replaced by an actual decrease of twice that number. There was a further decrease of 2,445 in the

[25] *The Tenth Quinquennial Review*, p 1, quoted in the *Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, Vol I, p 1.
[26] Vol I, pp 1-2.
[27] *The Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, Vol. I, p 2

number of institutions in 1932-33. Since then the number has practically remained stationary with slight variations in each subsequent year"[28] of the quinquennium ending in 1937 Again, "while the total educational expenditure increased by Rs. 6·2 crores during the quinquennium of 1922-27 and by Rs. 2·6 crores during the quinquennium of 1927-32, it has shown an increase of a little over Rs.87 lakhs only during the quinquennium under review. In the contributions made by Government and local bodies, there is an actual decrease of Rs. 9,65,274 and Rs. 3,68,960 respectively. Although there has been an increase in the amounts collected from fees and other sources, this increase compares unfavourably with that of the last quinquennium."[29] But the increase in the number of students between 1927 and 1937 was a little less than three million. "It is plain that the disparity between the increase in numbers and the increase in cost cannot in a world of rising standards point to an increase of efficiency."[30]

Let us now examine the progress made in Primary Education during the period 1931-32 and 1936-37.

PROGRESS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION DURING 1932-37[31]

	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	193
o of recog-sed Primary :hools	201,470	199,706	200,934	200,373	197,858	1
o of pupils eading in iem	9,454,360	9,531,970	9,806,356	10,089,672	10,308,403	10,3
irect Expen-ture on pri-ary educa-ition	Rs 8,12,60,290*	Rs 7,84,05,582*	Rs 8,00,44,690*	Rs 8,05,68,457*	Rs 8,20,99,267*	R 8,37,8

* These figures include corresponding figures for Burma.

[28] The *Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, Vol I, p 5
[29] ibid, p 15
[30] *Modern India and the West* (edited by L S S O 'Malley), p 178
[31] Compiled from *Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, Vol II, p 61

As is clear from the foregoing table, the progress in Primary Education was not at all satisfactory. The number of pupils constantly increased while the number of primary schools actually decreased by 4,243 between 1931 and 1937. The expenditure on Primary Education in 1931-32 was greater than that in any subsequent year except the last two years of the quinquennium.

The "wastage" and "stagnation" in Primary Education could not be eliminated during the period under review to any appreciable degree.

WASTAGE IN PRIMARY CLASSES IN BRITISH INDIA[32]

	No of pupils in				*Proportion of Pupils in*	
	Class I 1933-34	Class II 1934-35	Class III 1935-36	Class IV 1936-37	Class I 1933-34	Class IV 1936-37
Boys	3,863,319	1,736,781	1,361,521	1,070,360	100	28
Girls	1,508,453	486,509	334,639	215,400	100	14 3

Thus in the whole of British India 72 per cent of boys and nearly 86 per cent of girls who entered primary schools failed to reach Class IV, the earliest stage at which they could be expected to attain permanent literacy Little effort seems to have been made to eliminate the real causes of this great waste of educational effort—causes such as "the incomplete structure of a large number of schools, the inadequate supply of teachers which necessitates plural class teaching, the lack of qualified teachers, ineffective teaching and supervision, admission to schools throughout the year, irregular attendance, and faulty administration by local bodies"[33]

and *Education in Universities in India* 1947-48, p. 64 (both published by Bureau of Education, India)

[32] Compiled from the *Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, Vol I., pp. 131 and 159

[33] The *Eleventh Quinquennial Review* Vol I, p 128

In spite of the urgent need for an increased supply of trained teachers for primary schools, the number of normal and training schools and their trainees actually declined between 1932 and 1937 There were 425 training institutions with 21,823 students in British India in 1932 but only 346 training institutions with 19,976 students in 1937.[84]

Compulsory education also did not make satisfactory progress. There were 153 urban areas and 2,977 rural areas under compulsion in 1931-32 and there were 167 urban areas and 3,034 rural areas under compulsion in 1936-37 "But the mere increase in the number of areas brought under compulsion cannot be a source of satisfaction unless the compulsory system leads to a higher percentage of enrolment and attendance and a better flow of promotion from class to class, so that the stage of literacy is reached by a much larger number of scholars than at present. Judged by this standard, the progress of compulsion in the Punjab is said to be slow, halting and uncertain."[85] And the Punjab was the leading province in this respect with no fewer than 54 urban areas and 2,924 rural areas under compulsion in 1932 and 63 urban areas and 2,981 rural areas under compulsion in 1937.

Critical Observations

Indian dissatisfaction with the inadequacy of educational opportunity in the country, specially in the sphere of Primary Education, became inconveniently vocal for the Government early in the twentieth century By this time the government-sponsored primary schools had almost entirely eliminated the indigenous institutions for elemen-

[84] *The Eleventh Quinquennial Report,* Vol. I, p. 139.
[85] ibid, p 142

tary education, but their rate of increase had not been commensurate with the increasing needs of a fast growing population. The reforms envisaged by Curzon did not attempt any reorganisation of the primary educational system or suggest any concrete programme for the solution of the immense problem of illiteracy It only wanted to accelerate the speed of expansion of Primary Education.

Shri G K. Gokhale voiced the Indian demand for the introduction of compulsory Primary Education in the country. But the Government were unwilling even to accept the principle of compulsion and relied upon the encouragement of private enterprise and local bodies, which had already proved ineffective, for the expansion of Primary Education. Goaded by Indian criticism the rate of expansion of, and expenditure on, Primary Education increased a little.

The "Montford" Reforms gave only a semblance of power to the provincial ministers of education who could do little beyond making paper schemes Indian ministers had no control over important departments like finance, and they did not have the co-operation of the old members of the Indian Educational Service who held the key posts in the education departments. The principle of compulsion was theoretically accepted in almost all the provinces and Compulsory Education Acts passed everywhere. But as the local authorities, who were mainly responsible for Primary Education, were unwilling to carry out the policy of compulsion for reasons already discussed, the Compulsory Education Acts generally remained a dead letter.

On the popular side, however, there was a considerable enthusiasm for education. Increased enrolment in all schools, after the brief course of the Non-Co-operation Movement, was a clear indication that the apathy of the masses to education was breaking down. The depressed classes and the Muslims had also begun to assert their

right to education. There was also a social and political awakening among the women of India.

But the system of Primary Education was not fulfilling its twofold aim of producing "literacy and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote."[36] Indeed, "throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness."[37] The waste in the case of girls was even more serious than in the case of boys.

It was not enough for the Government of India to serve as a centre of educational information and as a means of co-ordinating the educational experiences of different provinces. The Central Government should have been made responsible for the introduction of universal Primary Education and should have been constitutionally enabled to tender such financial assistance as was needed by the provinces.

The policy of "consolidation" and "concentration" recommended by the Hartog Committee further slowed down the rate of expansion of Primary Education which had already become almost dead slow because of financial stringency and political agitation in the country. The implementation of the Compulsory Education Acts of the preceding decade having been left to the discretion and initiative of the local bodies with their small financial resources which they were unwilling to supplement by fresh taxation, these utterly failed to solve the problem of mass education Even where compulsion was introduced, conditions were hardly better than those in places where Primary Education was given on a voluntary basis. The great waste in education pointed out by the Hartog Committee continued almost unabated, making "educational expenditure unprofitable, educational effort ineffective and schools inefficient"[38] The rate of increase in literacy, less

[36] *The Hartog Committee Report*, p. 345.
[37] ibid, p 345
[38] K. G. Saiyidain—*Oxford Pamphlets on Indian affairs*, No. 15, p. 11.

than 1 per cent in ten years",[39] if even that could be maintained, was calculated to achieve 100 per cent literacy in one millennium. But the gravity of the problem had been becoming more and more serious because the population increased much faster and the actual number of illiterates in the country was much larger than it was at any time in the 19th century No half-hearted measures, but effective compulsion alone, could solve the problem. But at first the Government of India refused to accept, even theoretically, the principle of compulsion, and then later, regarded it as a luxury which could wait indefinitely for better times

The contents and ideology of Primary Education were also defective. "For various reasons, our Primary Education has been meagre, ineffective and uninteresting. It has neither quickened the minds nor enriched the life of the students. Cramped within the narrow compass of the traditional academic subjects and certain technical skills, it has neither been based on the psychology of the child nor responsive to the needs of national life The future of education cannot be better than its depressing past unless we can reconstruct radically the curriculum, the methods and the whole atmosphere of the primary schools, on which rests the entire educational superstructure If the work of these schools lacks life, reality and the touch of imagination, nothing can guarantee the health of the educational system as a whole."[40]

[39] The percentage of literacy was 3·5 in 1881 and 8 in 1831, giving an increase or 4·5 per cent in fifty years

[40] *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, No. 15, (1943), p. 14.

CHAPTER X

BASIC NATIONAL EDUCATION AND ITS PROGRESS TILL INDEPENDENCE

THE Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 came into operation in 1937, when the Indian National Congress took office in seven out of the eleven provinces of British India on the condition that the special powers of the Governors would not be used in such a way as to hamper the constitutional activities of the ministries The Congress was opposed to the coming into operation of the Federal Section of the Constitution. It is beyond the scope of this book to deal with the undemocratic nature of the Constitution which concentrated real power in the hands of the Viceroy and the provincial governors who could veto legislation or pass independent legislation

But the national leaders were not inactive in the sphere of education In 1937 Mahatma Gandhi initiated, in the columns of the 'Harijan', a discussion of the Indian educational problem, and offered many suggestions based on the following main principles.

(a) The course of Primary Education should be extended at least to seven years and should include the general knowledge gained up to the Matriculation standard less English but including a substantial vocation.

(b) For the all-round development of boys and girls all training should, so as far possible, be given through a profit-yielding vocation.

(c) This Primary Education, besides training the mind, should equip boys and girls to earn their bread by the State guaranteeing employment in the vocations

learnt and by buying from the schools their manufactures at prices fixed by the State.

(d) Such education taken as a whole can and must be self-supporting.

(e) Higher education should be left to private enterprise and the State universities should be purely examining bodies.

Mahatma Gandhi's proposals were discussed at an All-India National Education Conference held at Wardha in October 1937, under the presidentship of Gandhiji himself Gandhiji's original ideas were modified and the following resolutions were passed:

(a) That free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale,

(b) That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue

(c) That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Gandhiji that the process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual and productive work and that all the other abilities to be developed or the training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child

(d) That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

The All-India National Education Conference also appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Dr Zakir Hussain of Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, to formulate a scheme of Basic Education on the lines suggested by its resolutions The Zakir Hussain Committee report has come to be popularly known as the Wardha Scheme

THE WARDHA SCHEME

The Zakir Hussain Committee condemned the existing system of education for its failure to meet in the past "the most urgent and pressing needs of national life and to organise and direct its forces and tendencies into proper channels. To-day, when quick and far-reaching changes are reshaping both national and international life and making new demands on the citizens, it continues to function listlessly and apart from the real currents of life, unable to adapt itself to the changed circumstances It is neither responsive to the realistic elements of the present situation, nor inspired by any life-giving and creative ideal. It does not train individuals to become useful, productive members of society, able to pull their own weight and participate effectively in its work. It has no conception of the new co-operative social order which education must help to bring into existence to replace the present competitive and inhuman regime based on exploitation and violent force. There is, however, a demand from all sides for the replacement of the present system of education by a more constructive and human system, which will be better integrated with the needs and ideals of national life, and better able to meet its pressing demands."[1]

BASIC PRINCIPLES

"The most effective approach to the problem of providing an integral all-sided education" was to educate "children through some suitable form of productive work" The craft or productive work chosen was to be "rich in educative possibilities" because "the object of this new educational scheme is not primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft mechanically, but

[1] Report of the Zakir Hussain Committee.

rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work."

As all teaching work was to centre round the craft, this craft "should find natural points of correlation with important human activities and interests, and should extend into the whole content of the school curriculum"

The Zakir Hussain Committee did not wholly support the "self-supporting" aspect of the scheme. It was not sure whether the scheme could be really self-supporting. "Even if it is not 'self-supporting', in any sense, it should be accepted as a matter of sound educational policy and as an urgent measure of national reconstruction. It is fortunate, however, that this good education will also incidentally cover the major portion of its running expenses"[2] While realising the need of "a measurable check" for ensuring thoroughness and efficiency in teaching and in the work of the students," the Committee also realised the obvious danger. "There is an obvious danger that in the working of this scheme the economic aspect may be stressed at the sacrifice of the cultural and educational objective. Teachers may devote most of their attention and energy to extracting the maximum amount of labour from children, whilst neglecting the intellectual, social and moral implications and possibilities of craft training."

The seven years course of Basic Education included

(1) the basic crafts like spinning and weaving, carpentry, agriculture, fruit and vegetable gardening, leather work or "any other craft for which local and geographical conditions are favourable and which satisfies the conditions mentioned above",
(2) The mother tongue;
(3) Mathematics,
(4) Social studies including Geography, History and Civics,

[2] The Zakir Hussain Committee Report.

(5) General Science including Nature Study, Botany, Zoology, Physiology, Hygiene and Chemistry;
(6) Drawing,
(7) Music, and
(8) Hindustani (in both scripts).

The Training of Teachers

Candidates for admission to the Basic training institutions must have read up to the Matriculation standard or must have had at least two years' teaching experience after passing the Vernacular Final Examination or some equivalent examination "Since they are to teach not only certain academic subjects, but also crafts, their training should include a reasonably thorough mastery of the processes and technique of certain basic crafts." While the complete course of teachers' training was to cover a period of three years, a short emergency course of one year's training should be provided for specially selected teachers.

Supervision and Examinations

"An efficient and sympathetic supervisory staff is almost as important for the new schools as a well-trained teaching personnel." Supervisors were to be specially trained because they were expected not only to inspect Basic institutions but also "to play the role of leaders and guides in the educational experiment."

Examinations were not to occupy, as they had done so far, "a place out of all proportion to their utility". "The purpose of the examination can be served by an administrative check of the work of the schools in a prescribed area, by a sample measurement of the attainment of selected groups of students conducted by the inspectors of the Education Board." The tests "should be long enough

to cover the whole range of the curriculum and should be in a form which makes marking objective and independent of individual judgment." The promotion from grade to grade was to "be decided exclusively by the teaching faculty of the school on the basis of careful records of the pupils' work."

The Zakir Hussain Committee also felt "very strongly the necessity for some organisation of pre-school education for children" between the ages of three and seven when compulsion was to be enforced; but for financial and other reasons it made no recommendations at the moment in this connection.

The Vidyamandir Scheme

The Hon'ble Pandit R S. Shukla of the Central Provinces accepted the Basic syllabus for the content of education, but had another scheme for making Primary Education free and self-supporting The main idea in the scheme was that well-to-do and philanthropic gentlemen of the province should come forward with an offer of a piece of land of 20 to 25 acres each in every village. A trust was to manage the property with the aid of Co-operative and Agricultural Departments in order to utilise the land and the income thus derived from it towards meeting the remuneration of the teacher. Thus the nucleus of the village Trust of Vidyamandir would be formed and contributions would be accepted in the form of money, grain or any other commodity.

The Central Advisory Board of Education appointed in 1938 a Committee under the presidentship of Shri B G. Kher to consider the Wardha Scheme Dr Zakir Hussain was also invited to attend the meetings of the Committee in order to answer the criticisms of, or to remove any mis-

understanding about, the Wardha Scheme. Dr Zakir Hussain explained that the Wardha Scheme

"(a) emphasises education through activity and is not primarily concerned with the production of saleable material,

(b) does not make spinning and weaving the only basic craft, but admits of the inclusion of any craft of equal or higher educative possibilities,

(c) does not imply the ruling out of facilities for religious (denominational) education, where any community desires it, and

(d) does not state or imply that the salary of the teachers must be directly met from the sale of material made in the school".[8]

The Kher Committee reached the following conclusions which were accepted by the Central Advisory Board of Education

"(1) The scheme of 'Basic Education' should first be introduced in rural areas

(2) The age range for compulsion should be 6 to 14 years, but children can be admitted to the 'Basic School' at the age of five

(3) Diversion of students from the 'Basic School' to other kinds of school should be allowed after the 5th class or about the age of 11 plus.

(4) The medium of instruction should be the vernacular of the pupils

(5) The common language for India should be Hindustani with both the Urdu and Hindi scripts, every teacher being acquainted with both scripts (Some members suggested the use of the Roman script.)

(6) The Wardha Scheme of Basic Education is in full agreement with the recommendations made in the Wood-Abbott Report so far as the principale of

[8] Report of the First Kher Committee on the Wardha Scheme.

learning by doing is concerned This activity should be of many kinds in the lower classes and later should lead to a basiccraft the produce from which should be saleable and the proceeds applied to the upkeep of the school.

(7) Certain elements of cultural subjects, which cannot be correlated with the basic craft, must be taught independently.

(8) The training of teachers should be reorganised and their status raised

(9) No teacher should receive less than Rs 20/- per mensem.

(10) Efforts should be made to recruit more women teachers and to persuade girls of good education to take up teaching

(11) Basic schools should be started only when suitable, trained teachers are available.

(12) The curriculum will need revision in the light of experience.

(13) English should not be introduced as an optional subject in Basic schools.

(14) The State should provide facilities, as at present for every community to give religious teaching, when so desired, but not at the cost of the State.

(15) No external examination need be held At the end of the Basic school course a leaving certificate based on an internal examination should be given.

(16) Pupils wishing to join other schools at the end of the 5th class (age 11 plus) should also be granted a leaving certificate

(17) Promotion from class to class will be determined by the school, though the results of the internal examinations should be subject to the supervisor's inspection"

In 1939 the Central Advisory Board of Education appoin-

ted a Second Wardha Education Committee to examine the scheme in the light of further experience. Shri. B. G. Kher again presided over the Committee meetings.

Among the Committee's main conclusions were:

"(1) Although for the lack of money and of trained women teachers, 'pre-Basic' education in nursery and infant schools could not be made compulsory, the provincial governments should aim

(a) at providing model Infant and Nursery schools in suitable centres,

(b) at increasing the supply of properly trained infant teachers who should be women,

(c) at encouraging the enrolment in 'Basic' schools of children below the minimum age of compulsory attendance, and

(d) at stimulating the provision by voluntary agencies of efficient 'pre-Basic' schools.

(2) That 'Basic' Education should comprise a course of eight years from the age of 6 to 14 and that this course while preserving its essential unity should consist of two stages—the first stage, the 'junior' stage, covering a period of 5 years and the second stage, the 'senior', 3 years,

(3) That the transfer of children from the 'Basic' school to other forms of post-primary education should be allowed after the 5th grade, i.e. at the conclusion of the junior Basic stage,

(4) That the various types of post-primary schools (other than the 'senior basic' school) to which suitable children may be transferred at the end of the 'junior Basic' stage should provide a variety of courses extending over a period of at least five years after the age of 11. These courses, while preserving an essentially cultural character, should be designed to prepare

pupils for entry to Industrial and Commercial occupations as well as to Universities,

(5) That special arrangements should be made in these schools for assimilating pupils who decide to continue their education after completing the full course in the 'Basic school, i e., after reaching the 8th class,

(6) That suitable courses should be framed for girls attending senior Basic schools, which should include such subjects as cookery, laundry work, needle-work, home crafts, the care of children and first aid, the remainder of the instruction to be correlated with this course of domestic science in accordance with the general principles of the 'Basic Education' scheme,

(7) That a standing Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education should be appointed to watch new educational experiments carried on in the provinces as well as the progress of educational developments generally with special reference to Basic Education, and to make recommendations to the Board for necessary action. There should be a representative of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh on this Committee;

(8) That subject to such conditions as are set out in the report, the Central Government should contribute not less than half the amount of the approved net recurring expenditure on 'Basic' Education in each province, the balance to be found by the Provincial Government and the local bodies entrusted by it with the administration of compulsory education. For capital expenditure on buildings, equipment, etc., a loan system should be adopted;

(9) That a Central agency should be established in each province for the disposal of marketable articles produced in schools."

The Central Advisory Board of Education did not accept

the Committee's most important recommendation, viz. No. 8 given above The Board remarked as follows

"While the majority of the members of the Board accepted the view of the Committee, the official members representing the Government of India expressed their inability to commit themselves in any way."

The Board also did not accept recommendation No. 7 and decided to strengthen their existing Vernacular Education Committee instead of setting up a special Committee. All other conclusions of the Committee were, however, adopted by the Board.

The Progress of Basic Education

The Congress Ministries in the various provinces tried to give the Wardha Scheme a fair trial. In the Central Provinces, in 1938, a training school was opened at Wardha to train one hundred and sixty teachers for the Vidya Mandirs. The following year nearly 98 Vidya Mandirs were opened in different districts of the C.P. and 100 newly trained teachers were sent to these schools to initiate the experiment of Basic Education A central training college called the Vidya Mandir Training Institute was also opened at Wardha to re-train a certain proportion of the normal school and high school teachers. A short course and a refresher course were also organised for inspectors

The United Provinces appointed an Education Reorganisation Committee which recommended the adoption of the system of Basic Education and the organisation of the training of teachers as the first step in this programme. In 1938 two training centres, one at Allahabad for the training of men graduates and the other at Banaras for the training of women teachers, were started. Later the Banaras training institute was transferred to Allahabad where a practising school with the crafts of spinning, card-board work

and gardening was also started Several training centres were also started in Meerut, Agra, Bareilly, Allahabad, Banaras, Lucknow and Fyzabad, to give short refresher courses in the theory and practice of Basic Education to 250 teachers from the District Boards and Municipalities in each of the circles

In Bihar and Bombay, Basic Education was introduced as an experimental measure and not as the official educational policy of the Government as in the U P and the C P. Compact areas were selected for the purpose.

Under the guidance of Shri K G. Saiyidain, Kashmir also made some progress in this direction A training centre was opened at Srinagar to train 102 teachers of Basic Education and two experimental Basic schools were opened at Jammu and Srinagar

Orissa and Madras also followed the lead given by the C.P. and the U.P.

In 1939 there were in India ten Government 'Basic' training institutions and four non-government training centres besides seven short refresher course centres in the U.P.

Government Training Centres	*Province*	*Medium of Instruction*
1 Basic Training School, Patna	Bihar	Hindustani
2 Basic Training College, Allahabad	U P.	-Do-
3. Basic Training School, Bari	Orissa	Oriya
4. Basic Training School, Loni	Maharashtra	Marathi
5 Basic Training School, Kataragam	Gujarat	Gujarati
6 Basic Training School, Dharwar.	Karnatak	Kanarese
7 Basic, Training School, Jalgaon.	Khandesh	Urdu
8 Vidya Mandir Training School, Wardha.	C P.	Marathi & Hindi
9 V. M Training Institute, Wardha.	"	"

Government Training Centres	*Province*	*Medium of Instruction*
10 Basic Training School, Coimbatore.	Madras	Tamil
Institutions in States		
11. Basic Training School, Srinagar.	Kashmir	Urdu
National Institutions.		
12. Basic Training Centre, Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi	Delhi	Urdu
13. Basic Training Centre, Andhra Jatiya Kalashab.	Masulipatam	Telugu
14 Vedchhi Ashram	Gujarat	Gujarati

The Congress Ministries in the provinces were not in funds partly because of the reasons already discussed and partly because of their idealistic programmes of enforcing prohibition (of liquor). The total expenditure on Education in India was Rs.28,05,69,37[4] in 1936-37, Rs 26,98,64,484 in 1937-38, and Rs.27,81,99,492 in 1938-39.

The progress made in Basic Education was also brought to a standstill in 1939 by the resignation of the Congress Ministries on the issue of India's participation in the War.

"The 'Adviser' Governments in Orissa and Madras stopped Basic Education. In the C P. and Berar, Bombay and other provinces the work was discontinued. ... .. In Orissa the work was taken up by a private body, the Utkal Maulik Shiksha Parishad, and was carried on till 1942 when all Basic school teachers in Orissa were imprisoned . ... . . During the political struggle of 1942-45 Basic Education institutions were closed, workers were in jail, and it seemed for a while that Basic Education was out of the picture."[5]

[4] Includes expenditure on Education in Burma.
[5] *The Second Year,* pages 219-20, issued by the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

It had become increasingly clear during the thirties that minor changes in the existing system of education like the broadening of the curriculum, the introduction of a vocational bias, a hesitant recognition of the place of the mother-tongue were not enough. Nothing short of a thoroughgoing reform could solve the educational problems of the country. Mahatma Gandhi's Wardha Scheme was one such attempt.

The supporters of the Wardha Scheme have acclaimed it as the panacea for all the social, economic and political ills of the country, while its opponents point out many defects inherent in it. The idea of making productive work the centre of education is nothing but an application of the universally accepted principle of learning by doing It not only saves "the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which its active nature is always making a healthy protest," but also "balances the intellectual and practical elements of experience and may be made an instrument of educating the body and the mind in co-ordination"[6] It will not only "tend to break down the existing barriers of prejudice between manual and intellectual workers," but "will also cultivate in the only possible way a true sense of the dignity of labour and of human solidarity, an ethical and moral gain of incalculable significance"[7]

"Economically considered, carried out intelligently and efficiently, the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and will also enable them to utilize their leisure advantageously."[8]

"From the strictly educational point of view, greate

[6] The Zakir Hussain Committee Report.
[7] ibid
[8] ibid.

concreteness and reality can be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education. Knowledge will thus become related to life, and its various aspects will be correlated with one another."[9]

It is also claimed that the Wardha Scheme does not ignore cultural values. "True culture comes not from second-hand book knowledge, unsupplemented by experience, but through socially useful productive work honestly, intelligently and spontaneously performed."[10] "The primary object of the Scheme is not to produce craftsmen trained to practise their crafts mechanically but rather to exploit for educational purposes the resources for intellectual, moral and practical training implicit in craft-work so that the educated individual becomes both a better worker and a better man."[11]

The extreme poverty of the country and the absence of any immediate source of additional income led Mahatma Gandhi to emphasize the idea of self-support But he did modify his position and only stipulated that the children's earning should, in due course, cover the recurring expenditure on the teacher's salaries. The State should meet all other recurring and non-recurring expenses.

Because of the association of Mahatma Gandhi's name, the critics of the Wardha Scheme have been generally very respectful In his message to The All-India Educational Conference held at Calcutta in 1937, Dr Rabindra Nath Tagore said, "As the Scheme stands on paper, it seems to assume that material utility rather than development of personality, is the end of education, that while education in the true sense of the word may still be available for a chosen few who can afford to pay for it, the utmost the

[9] The Zakir Hussain Committee Report.
[10] Paper on Wardha Scheme read by K G Saiyidain at the All-India Educational Conference, Calcutta, December, 1937
[11] ibid

masses can have is to be trained to view the world they live in, in the perspective of the particular craft they are to employ for their livelihood. It is true that as things are, even that is much more than what the masses are actually getting, but it is nevertheless unfortunate that, even in our ideal scheme, education should be doled out in insufficient rations to the poor, while the feast remains reserved for the rich I cannot congratulate a society or a nation that calmly excludes play from the curriculum of the majority of its children's education and gives in its stead a vested interest to the teachers in the market value of the pupil's labour."

Even from the educational point of view it is impossible to choose any one craft, however rich in educative possibilities, which is sufficient to develop the whole man and to give him all the general knowledge that is now gained up to the Matriculation standard.

The Zakir Hussain Committee itself realized the danger of the self-supporting basis of the Scheme. In order to ensure their salaries, the teachers might concentrate on craft-work and neglect other subjects Again, the State was to buy the things made by the children and these things were likely to be inferior to the finished goods of other craftsmen. This would amount to indirect help from the State. The idea of self-support, therefore, did not have much meaning.

But as far as the fundamental principles of the Wardha Scheme are concerned, there has been hardly any difference of opinion Various committees appointed by the provincial governments and the Central Advisory Board of Education to examine the Wardha Scheme have all endorsed its basic principles. The C P Government appointed an Education Reorganisation Committee, the U P. Government appointed the Primary and Secondary Education Reorganisation Committee, the Bombay

Government appointed a Committee of Vocational Training in Primary and Secondary Schools and consequent Reorganisation; and the Central Advisory Board of Education appointed two Committees to consider Basic Education and invited Messrs. Wood and Abbott[12] from England to advise on Vocational Education. All accept the following principles of the Wardha Scheme.

All agree that free and compulsory education should be provided for a period of seven years on a nation-wide scale. The Bombay Government were advised by their Committee that "a continuous course of seven years should be the minimum education for a citizen." The Primary and *Secondary Education Reorganisation Committee of the U P.* unanimously recommended that "compulsory Primary Education should be provided free on a nation-wide scale and should extend over seven years beginning from the age of seven." The Bihar Education Reorganisation Committee also recommended "a seven years' continuous comprehensive course" for the system of "regular, compulsory, universal and Primary Education" The C P Government Committee agreed with the view that "a seven years' course of Basic Education should be the national minimum." The Central Advisory Board's Committees went a step further by extending the period of compulsion by a year from the age of six to that of fourteen.

The second principle of the Wardha Scheme, that the medium of instruction throughout the course of Basic Education should be the mother-tongue, was also accepted by all the Committees mentioned above.

The third principle, that the process of education throughout the Basic course should "centre round some form of manual and productive work", was also generally agreed upon. The Bombay Committee came to the conclusion that "the principle of education through purposeful

[12] Their report is discussed later on.

creative activities leading on to productive work is sound" and "its adoption is best calculated to remedy the main weaknesses obtaining in the present system of education". The United Provinces Committee was convinced that "the education of a child through craft and productive work is a psychologically sound method." The Bihar Committee recommended that "purposeful activities" as a medium of educating children "should be a basic or governing factor in our Basic schools." The Central Advisory Board Committees and Messrs Wood and Abbott also endorsed this view.

While there has been a general agreement on the three main principles mentioned above, some other provisions of the Wardha Scheme have been the subject of heated controversies The defect and the danger of the self-supporting basis of Mahatma Gandhi's original scheme were realised by the Zakir Hussain Committee itself. The economic, moral and ethical claims for the Wardha Scheme are much too exaggerated. The Scheme is meant generally for rural areas and there is hardly any hint about how far it is applicable to urban areas also. But the subsequent committees, specially the two Committees of the Central Advisory Board of Education, modified the Wardha Scheme to make it generally acceptable and sound The Government of India, however, were not prepared to contribute their due share of expenditure involved in the introduction of the 'Basic' scheme on a nation-wide scale

PLAN FOR POST-WAR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA, 1944

In 1944 the Central Advisory Board of Education carefully considered the recommendations of its various committees appointed to examine the different problems of Indian

education and brought out a comprehensive plan for "Post-War Educational Development in India" covering almost all the possible aspects of education The plan aimed at reorganising the entire system of Indian education at a total cost of Rs. 313 crores out of which Rs. 277 crores were to be met from public funds. The plan was to be carried out in 8 stages, by means of eight five-year programmes. The first five-year programme was to be entirely devoted to the training of teachers, while the remaining seven five-year programmes were meant for the gradual extension of the scheme from area to area, till it spread over the whole country.

The main conclusions[13] of the Board about Basic Education were:

"(a) A system of universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen should be introduced as speedily as possible, though in view of the practical difficulty of recruiting requisite supply of trained teachers it may not be possible to complete it in less than forty years.

(b) The character of the instruction to be provided should follow the general lines laid down in the reports of the Central Advisory Board's two Committees[14] on Basic Education

(c) Senior Basic (Middle) School, being the finishing school for the great majority of future citizens, is of fundamental importance and should be generously staffed and equipped

(d) The standards of the training, recruiting and conditions of service of teachers should be raised in keeping with the recommendations of the Central Advisory Board's Committee on the subject.

[13] *Post-War Educational Development in India*, 1944, p 14.
[14] See pages 148-52 of this book for their recommendations

(e) A vast increase in the number of trained women teachers will be required.

(f) The annual expenditure on the Scheme when it was in full operation would be about Rs. 200 crores."

PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Board realised the great importance of providing special educational facilities for children below the compulsory age of six years on a voluntary basis. Their main recommendations[15] on the subject are:

"(a) An adequate provision of pre-primary instruction in the form of nursery schools or classes is an essential adjunct to any national system of education The provision in this respect at present is negligible.

(b) In urban areas, where sufficient children are available within a reasonable radius, separate Nursery Schools or departments may be provided, elsewhere Nursery classes should be attached to Junior Basic (Primary) Schools.

(c) Nursery Schools and classes should invariably be staffed with women teachers who have received special training for this work.

(d) This education should be given freely on a voluntary basis. No efforts should be spared to persuade parents to send their children to school voluntarily, particularly in areas where housing conditions are unsatisfactory.

(e) The main object of education at this stage is to give young children social experience rather than formal instruction

(f) According to the Board's calculation provision should be made for 10,00,000 places in Nursery Schools and

[15] *Post-War Educational Development in India*, p.18.

classes for children between three and six at an estimated total cost of Rs.3,18,40,000."

An idea of the development of Primary Education between 1937 and 1947 can be had from the following table:—

PRIMARY EDUCATION BETWEEN 1937 AND 1947[16]

	1937-38	1940-41	1943-44	1945-46
No of Primary Schools (Boys and Girls)	1,89,601	1,87,164	1,70,552	1,67,700
No of scholars (boys & girls)	1,05,16,353	1,17,97,849	1,22,19,228	1,30,27,313
Direct Expenditure on Primary education	Rs 8,32,45,413	Rs 9,32,45,413	Rs. 10,88,51,424	Rs 14,35,25,623

From this table it is clear that while the number of schools decreased, the number of pupils and expenditure on Primary Education increased. One of the reasons for this unsatisfactory development was no doubt the existence of two systems—the prevalent Primary Education and the Basic Scheme.

In 1945 the War came to an end bringing in its train economic stringency, scarcity and rising prices No startling progress or educational reorganisation could be expected immediately. Moreover, there was also the uncertainty of the political situation In 1946 the Congress Ministries returned to power again in eight provinces and began to develop plans for the expansion of Basic Education. The U.P. Government sanctioned the opening of 200

[16] While the figures for schools and scholars have been compiled from *Educational Statistics* (for relevant years) published by the Bureau of Education, expenditures for various years have been taken from *Education in Universities in India* (1947-48), (Bureau of Education).

Basic schools for boys and 200 for girls in rural areas with effect from July, 1946. Orissa and Assam sent teachers to Wardha and Delhi for training in Basic Education. Bihar had a scheme of improving and expanding the existing elementary training schools into full-fledged Basic training schools. In some provinces primary school teachers' salaries were increased In Bihar, for example, pending the revision of the teachers' salaries, Government sanctioned payment of dearness allowance at an average rate of Rs. 10 per head per month to Primary and Middle school teachers. Efforts were made to re-employ the teachers dismissed during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1942.

The settlement of August 15, 1947 brought British Rule in India to an end, and the Indian Union and Pakistan were created We shall discuss educational developments in a Free India at the appropriate place.

Critical Observations

During the period under review the dissatisfaction with the existing system of education became almost universal Both official and unofficial opinion favoured a wholesale re-organisation, because it was realised that piece-meal educational reforms could not solve the problems of the country. Very good suggestions were made in the Abbott-Wood Report, in the Wardha Scheme, in the reports of the various committees of the Central Advisory Board of education But at no period in the history of modern Indian education has there been a dearth of good advice The tragedy all along has been that sound educational advice has seldom been properly heeded or carried out by the Government of India The recommendations of the various reports and schemes of education could not be carried out because of political unrest inside the country and the global war outside it. The Congress Ministries in the provinces

could not take the Basic Scheme of education beyond the experimental stage during their short regime of two years. After the war when the Congress Ministries came into power again, they tried to renew their old efforts.

The most outstanding educational events of the period are the Wardha Scheme and the scheme of the Central Advisory Board of Education for "Post-War Educational Development in India." We have already commented upon the Wardha Scheme. It now remains to examine the Central Advisory Board's Post-War Educational Plan.

The Sargent Scheme is not an original document. At best it is only a good summary of the useful suggestions made by previous reports and schemes, including the Wardha Scheme. Its chief virtue, however, lies in its comprehensiveness It boldly visualises Indian education as a whole, and deals not only with the different types of institutions needed in the country, but also with the allied problems of the School Medical Service, Recreative and Social Activities, Employment Bureau etc

With some of the general principles and even minor suggestions there can hardly be any difference of opinion. All will acknowledge the State obligation to provide every child, without exception, with a minimum of education in the form of free and compulsory education up to the age of fourteen years. Indeed, this principle had already been accepted by the Wardha Scheme of Mahatma Gandhi. Everyone will also agree that the teaching profession should be made attractive and truly respectable by raising the teachers' salaries and improving their conditions of service. The need for more women teachers, specially fo smaller children, will also meet with general approval There will also be a general agreement with the proposa that after a minimum of general education, pupils shoul be diverted to different types of institutions according t their inclinations and abilities. Again, few would den

the desirability of making the school curriculum and organisation better co-ordinated with the needs of rural life. The Sargent Scheme provides for different types of Secondary schools including those with a definite vocational and technical bias and seeks to place technical education on a par with academic general education in the colleges and universities. Lastly, the importance of nursery and infant schools and classes, of providing poor pupils with facilities like the mid-day meal, scholarships and maintenance allowance will also meet with general approval.

But objections have been raised to certain other features of the Sargent Scheme. The scheme gives the barest outline of an educational plan and generally leaves out the important questions of the content of education, the curricula and method. This no doubt makes the scheme more elastic but guidance in the subjects mentioned above is also very necessary.

The period of forty years for the full implementation of the Scheme has generally been regarded as too long to meet the urgent need of India It is certainly desirable to reduce this period and efforts have been made to do so. But the crux of the problem is whether it is really possible to do so without lowering the standard of teachers' qualifications and training unduly and sacrificing the quality of education at the altar of quantity It has been suggested that teachers with qualifications lower than those recommended, or even untrained teachers, may be employed at the initial stage of the scheme. But this will not be possible. Basic Education requires more qualified and specially trained teachers for its successful operation All that seems possible is to reduce the period of teachers' training and institute short intensive courses of training for already trained teachers. But it is doubtful whether the period of forty years can be materially reduced. It is no use propos-

ing another scheme claiming to achieve wonders within a much shorter period and then doing nothing about it because of its greater difficulties. It is often said, "When Russia and other countries have done it, why can't we?" It is possible in India also if the political, economic and social structure is first changed Accepting the conditions as they are, there does not appear to be a shorter road to success

The cost of the Scheme has been another point of keen controversy. But all the money is not needed at once, and in the mean time the economic resources of the country must be fully developed.

It has also been said that the Sargent Scheme is not national It is true that the Scheme does not propose any change in the foreign medium of instruction at the higher stages of education It says little about religious education But these are not the essential features of the Scheme and can be changed without any damage to its original structure. There is nothing in the Scheme that militates essentially against Indian nationalism Indeed, it incorporates most of the principles advocated by Shri Gokhale, Mahatma Gandhi and others.

It does not, however, mean that the Scheme is perfect and cannot be improved Many of its details will need change and modification in the light of experience But to reject it merely on the ground that a foreigner's name is associated with it is certainly stupid We must work it, unless a better scheme is forthcoming, and modify it, if necessary, in the light of further experience. As I have already said, it is neither original nor new but gives a concrete form to the suggestions already made in several previous reports and schemes of education

We have already seen how official opinion had also become critical of the educational system of the country. After the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, the Government

of India was not directly responsible for education in the provinces. It was the provincial governments and the local authorities that were to blame for any defects. So the Central Government officials could also join the chorus of criticism without any legal awkwardness

But till the year 1920, the Government of India had been guiding the educational policy of the whole country. Wood's Despatch of 1854 imposed upon them the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education for the country, from the Primary to the University stage. Later, the Hunter Commission also endorsed that policy In 1910, the subject of Education was transferred from the Home Department to a new Department of Education in the Government of India. In 1915, a Bureau of Education was also established at the Headquarters of the Central Government under the Educational Commissioner, to collect and collate information about education in India and abroad and to arrange for the publication of educational reports on different subjects. In 1920, even after the "Montford" Reforms, a Central Advisory Board of Education was also created under the chairmanship of the Educational Commissioner to offer expert advice on all important educational matters that were referred to it, and to conduct educational surveys whenever required "It was felt that with the devolution of responsibility of education to the provinces under the Government of India Act, 1919, such an organisation would serve to keep local government in touch with one another."[17]

In 1923, however, both the Bureau of Education and the Central Advisory Board of Education were abolished as a measure of economy, and the Department of Education and Health was amalgamated with the Department of Revenue and Agriculture As a consequence, between 1923 and 1937 the influence of the Government of India on the fra-

[17] The Government of India Resolution of August 8, 1935

ming and execution of educational policy for the country was almost non-existent. The Hartog Committee in 1929 condemned these measures in no unmistakable terms, and as a result, the Central Advisory Board of Education was revived in 1935 and the Bureau of Education in 1937. We have already discussed the Central Advisory Board's most important contribution—its Report on Post War Educational Development in India. It is, therefore, clear that the absence of a sympathetic government at the Centre and of an adequate central agency for the guidance and co-ordination of educational reconstruction was mainly responsible for most of the defects pointed out in the introduction to the Central Advisory Board's Report on Post-war Educational Development in India.

CHAPTER XI

DEVELOPMENTS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION AFTER INDEPENDENCE

WITH the attainment of political freedom on August 15, 1947, the Education Department at the Centre became a full-fledged Ministry of Education. Its main function was to co-ordinate educational planning for the whole of India and to act as an agency for the collection and dissemination of information on education. It also undertook to give financial assistance, where necessary.

Long before Independence, it had been abundantly realised that "an alien Government, however well-intentioned, can never frame a programme of national education that will serve the nation's needs". The national government, therefore, had to give education a new orientation in the new context. In the face of "restricted finance, paucity of trained teachers, and the controversial problem of the medium of instruction," the country was called upon to solve the twofold problem.

"(1) To fight illiteracy by providing facilities for giving elementary Basic Education to 85 per cent of our population who cannot read and write, and

(2) To nationalize our entire system of education so as to train, equip and direct the youth of the country to take their proper share in building up a progressive state "[1]

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education in the National Government, convened, in January 1948, an All-India Education Conference which

[1] *Education in Free India* (Aug. 1947-August 1948), p 1 (Ministry of Education, New Delhi).

was attended by the representatives of all provincial and state governments, Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities and other prominent educationists of the country. They reached the following conclusions.

(1) The period of forty years contemplated by the Sargent Plan for the completion of the work of universal and compulsory Basic Education should be substantially curtailed.

(2) While accepting the recommendation of the Sargent Plan for an eight-year period of free and compulsory Basic Education, the Conference held that compulsion might be first introduced for the Junior Basic stage within a period of ten years and then the compulsory stage could be extended to children between the ages of 11 and 14 years

(3) To prevent a relapse into illiteracy, there should be a provision of Adult or Social Education centres.

(4) The Conference endorsed the Central Advisory Board's recommendation to appoint a Committee on the medium of instruction and another to consider ways and means of raising the finances required to expedite and implement Basic Education plans, including the question of Central grants, the levy of an education cess and the levy of educational loans

(5) A Committee for Secondary Education was also to be appointed to consider, among other things, the question of providing a system of Secondary Education as would produce leaders for both civil and military spheres of national life.

The Finance Committee, as recommended by the Conference, was appointed under the chairmanship of Shri B. G. Kher

The Committee thought that universal and compulsory Basic Education could be introduced within

a period of 16 years, by two five-year and one six-year plans. The first five-year plan should aim at bringing such education to a major portion of the children of the country within the age-group 6-11 The second five-year plan should extend compulsion to the remaining children of the same age-group so that at the end of ten years all the children between the ages of 6 and 11 years would be under compulsory instruction. During the six-year plan, compulsion should be applied in the first year to 50 per cent. of the children in the age-group 11-12 and extended year by year so that at the end of three years there will be compulsion for 50 per cent. of all children in the age group 11-14. The second three years should extend compulsion to the remaining children till in six years all children in the age-group of 11-14 are brought under compulsion.

The Committee made the following recommendations about the ways and means of financing education.

(1) A fixed percentage of Central and Provincial revenues—about 10 per cent. of the Central and 20 per cent of the Provincial—should be earmarked for education by the respective governments

(2) About 70 per cent of the expenditure on Education should be borne by Provincial Governments and local bodies together, and the remaining 30 per cent by the Centre

(3) All contributions for education approved by the Provincial and Central Governments should be exempted from income-tax.

(4) The provincial education departments were also advised to study the experience gained in Wardha, Bihar and Orissa where the income from craft-work of the pupils met a part of the expenditure of Basic schools, and to explore, with due regard to the edu-

cational interests of the pupils, this remunerative aspect of the Basic Education Scheme.

Although the recommendations of the Kher Committee were generally accepted by the Central Advisory Board of Education at its next meeting, it has not yet been possible to put the plan into full operation. Almost at every yearly meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has complained of lack of funds. At the 15th meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education held at Allahabad he admitted that because of the financial crisis of great magnitude, he had to agree to the "slowing down of the tempo in our educational development." He also revealed that the Central provision of Rs 3,85,00,000 for education amounted to "less than one per cent." of its budget and "in the case of India as a whole only a little over 5 per cent. of the total budgetted expenditure has till now been spent for educational purposes." In contrast to the Indian Government's efforts, the U K. was spending about £300 millions for a population of 50 millions and the U.S A 12,000 million dollars for a population of about 140 millions A year later he struck the same note Addressing the Central Advisory Board meeting held at Cuttack in January, 1950, he said, "In spite of our best efforts we were unable to provide sufficient funds even for the very modest programmes of expansion which we had framed. Our intention was to provide for an amount of Rs.11 crores for 1949-50, as this would enable us to start the Basic Education programme and undertake preliminary work for social education. Our financial position, however, allowed us to provide only about Rs 6 crores Within six months of the adoption of this year's budget, we have had to face a financial crisis of such magnitude as to force a reduction of 10 to 20 per cent. in the already approved budgets. Instead of going ahead as we had originally planned, we suddenly realized that we

had to retreat. . . . The result is that a country with a population of almost 350 millions and with hardly 14 per cent. literates cannot provide more than Rs. 4½ crores from its Central revenue for education"[2] Even as late as March, 1952 instead of putting the Kher Committee's plan of universal Basic Education within a period of 16 years into full operation, the Minister for Education revealed, at the 19th meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education held at New Delhi in March, 1952, that the scheme could be tried only in centrally administered areas as an experiment and example for the rest of the country. While the programme was in full operation in Delhi State, only a beginning had been made in Ajmer.

Even the draft outline of the *First Five-Year Plan* has provided for education only the sum of Rs.123[3] crores for the whole period of five years. Out of this sum the Centre will contribute only Rs 32 crores and the rest of the money will have to be found by the States themselves It has been made clear in the Plan that the Centre is "not in a position to accept any large measure of responsibility for Basic and Social Education in the country as a whole" Thus the first Five-Year Plan makes no effort to carry out the directive of the Constitution.

"The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children till they complete the age of 14 years."

Thus we see that in the flush of Independence efforts were made to reduce the period of 40 years suggested by the Sargent Plan to 16 years and yet adequate steps have not yet been taken to give us the hope that compulsory Primary Education would be available for all children

[2] Reported in the *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, Jan. 9 1950
[3] This sum was raised to Rs151·66 crores in the Final Plan The Centre was to provide Rs 35 02 crores and the States Rs 116·64 crores.

between the ages of 6 and 14 years even in a period of sixty years. The question of money is ultimately a question of priorities. In the case of a war or the danger of a war, every Government manages to find all the money needed for adequate preparations. The problem of education in India must be treated on a war footing. We cannot wait for some future period of plenty for the implementation of our educational programmes.

While the Centre has not been able to do much for the promotion of Basic Education, the states have not been idle Immediately after Independence all the states began to take steps in the right direction. States like Bihar, where Basic Education had already made some headway, extended their work by starting more Basic schools and training colleges for the teachers of Basic schools. States like Madras, where very little had been done before, either sent some teachers for training in Basic Education to Shantiniketan, Jamia Millia or Wardha, or organised short training courses in crafts They also took steps for converting the existing primary schools into Basic schools All states have their own programmes for the expansion of Basic Education as more and more suitably trained teachers become available As a first step towards converting the existing primary schools into Basic schools, the state of Saurashtra introduced craft and gardening in its primary schools from March, 1951. Twenty-four primary schools were to be converted into Basic schools with agriculture and spinning as the main crafts In Delhi, Basic Education has been introduced in the lowest classes of the provincialised District Board primary schools Each school is to have at least one Basic teacher. The Government of Madhya Pradesh are keen on reviving the Vidya Mandir Scheme started in 1938 by Pt Ravi Shankar Shukla and abandoned in 1939 with the resignation of the Congress Ministry. A net-work of such schools has already been started through-

out the state with the help of the *malguzars* who have provided the land, while the state is to finance the institutions. These institutions are run on the lines of the Gurukuls of ancient times.

Efforts have also been made in progressive states like the U.P to extend the area under compulsion The Government of the U P gave Rs.35 lakhs in 1947-48, Rs 45 lakhs in 1948-49 and Rs.22 lakhs in 1949-50 to Municipal Boards for bringing more and more children of the age-group 6-11 under compulsion.[4]

It is not possible to give the exact number of Basic schools in each state, because more and more new schools are being started every now and then. But it is possible to study the trends in Primary Education and the chief ones have been mentioned above

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

The efforts of the various states for the promotion of Basic Education after Independence deserve all praise But it has all along been realised that Basic Education on a universal scale cannot be achieved without substantial help from the Centre. According to the recommendations of the Kher Committee, the Centre should provide for the purpose at least 30 per cent of the total expenditure on Basic Education Education is a subject in which the various states can follow their own policies and programmes The Centre should be constitutionally enabled to see that each state carries out an agreed scheme of universal Primary Education within a specified period. Left to themselves, the states are likely to move at their own pace and some may not move fast enough or move in an entirely different direction. So far the Centre has had only advisory powers and if the various states accept the

[4] *The Education Quarterly*, June, 1950.

programme of Basic Education it is because the Indian National Congress Party has been in power everywhere. But it is very likely that at a future date some other political party may come into power in some states and may not accept the Basic National Scheme of education.

Although in the First Five-Year Plan the Central Government has expressed its inability to meet substantially the basic difficulty of finance, it has suggested the lines along which we should move. It has made the following recommendations

(i) All new primary schools should be "of the Basic type."

(ii) Existing primary schools should be gradually converted into Basic schools.

(iii) In the meantime crafts and practical work should be introduced in existing schools as a first step in that direction.

(iv) "A model Basic education centre comprising of all stages of Basic Education—namely pre-Basic, Basic, post-Basic, teachers' training and, when this becomes possible, a rural university"—should be established.

(v) The schools in rural areas should be integrated with the life of the community around for a "useful contribution to economic and social progress"

But as I have already pointed out, the real problem has never been the dearth of sound advice, but the problem of how and the wherewithal. It is better to carry out a realistic programme of universal and compulsory Basic Education in a period of forty, sixty or even eighty years than to try to reduce that period theoretically to sixteen or ten years and then not be able even to begin it at all.

PART THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

CHAPTER XII

THE ORIGIN OF THE ORIENTALISTS-ANGLICISTS CONTROVERSY

THE EVOLUTION AND THE STAND POINT OF THE ORIENTALIST POLICY

THE Orientalist policy had a two-fold origin. In the latter half of the 18th century there was an unusual enthusiasm, both in Europe and among Europeans in India, for the study of Oriental literature. Goethe's encomium on Kalidas's *Shakuntala* has become proverbial. Sir Charles Wilkins and Sir William Jones did much to revive an interest in Oriental literature in India The former established an Oriental printing press in Calcutta These two scholars translated several Sanskrit classics and were responsible for the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

This vogue for Oriental learning coincided with political expediency. The British rulers wanted to have a hold on the sympathies of the Indians. They also needed judicial officers well-versed in Hindu and Muslim law With these ends in view, institutions of Oriental learning, the Calcutta Madrasah and the Banaras Sanskrit College were founded during the last quarter of the 18th century.

In 1811 Lord Minto in his Minute complained "that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India" and expressed the fear that

damage would soon become irreparable "from a want of books or of persons capable of explaining them", if the Government did not immediately come forward with financial help and encouragement. The allotment of a yearly sum of one lakh of rupees for Indian education was mainly the result of this plea The Court of the Company's Directors in their letter of 1814, already discussed, suggested the ways in which the sum of one lakh of rupees was to be spent. They proposed to encourage the learned natives by conferring on them honorary marks of distinction and by giving to a few persons from among them financial assistance, and to encourage their own servants to study Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit

The Hindu College at Poona was established in 1821 to conciliate the learned Brahmins who used to receive from the Peshwas, before their final overthrow in 1818, more than five lakhs of rupees a year by way of "*dakshina*". The ostensible object of the college was to encourage and improve "the useful parts of Hindoo learning" and "to introduce, as far as possible, the means of communicating to our new subjects such branches of European knowledge as they may be able and willing to receive" But initially only arrangements for teaching the various branches of Sanskrit learning, such as Grammar, *Belles Lettres*, Logic, Religion, Astronomy, Philosophy, Medicine etc., were made to the entire exclusion of Western Sciences or Arts Very little else was done by the Government till 1823, when a Committee of Public Instruction was set up to take over the entire management of State education and the public funds for education, including the arrears of the annual allotment of one lakh of rupees from the year 1821, were placed at its disposal. As most of its ten members were also enthusiastic members of the Asiatic Society, the Committee were biassed in favour of Oriental learning They sanctioned the completion of the Sanskrit College in

Calcutta which had already been approved by the Government in 1821.

The attitude of the Government was reflected in their letter of instructions to the Committee of Public Instruction dated 31st July, 1823 and in the Note[1] of Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government in the Territorial Department. The Government letter lays emphasis on "the better instruction of the people" through "the introduction of useful knowledge including the sciences and arts of Europe" and on "the improvement of their moral character" Although this Government letter does not mention Oriental learning, Mackenzie's Note clarifies the whole position. Mackenzie believed that the education of the masses was not possible with the means at the disposal of the Government He believed in what came to be known as the "Downward Filtration Theory". He said, "The support and establishment of colleges for the instruction of what may be called the educated and influential classes seem to me to be more immediate objects of the care of Government than the support and establishment of elementary schools, though these in particular places may claim attention." He held that the learning and culture of influential classes was bound to filter down to the masses and permeate them.

Mackenzie also recommended the policy of encouraging Oriental learning and of gradually engrafting on it European knowledge. He was in favour of "the association of Oriental learning with European science, and the gradual introduction of the latter without any attempt arbitrarily to supersede the former." Mackenzie does not offer any definite opinion on the medium of instruction to be used. He further wanted a co-ordination between educational institutions and the needs of administration, "how the acquirements of the students at the public seminaries

[1] See *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, pp 59-60.

can best be rendered subservient to the public service, and how the constitution of public offices and the distribution of employments can be made the means of exerting to study and rewarding merit."

Thus the two cardinal principles of the Orientalist policy were the 'Downward Filtration Theory' and the grafting of a knowledge of Western sciences and literature on the stalk of Oriental learning (not replacing Oriental learning with Western learning). It should be noted that the Orientalists were not, on principle, against a knowledge of the English language or of Western sciences. What they insisted upon was that the latter should proceed from, and be based on Oriental learning for a proper synthesis. This is generally overlooked by many people

Both the Calcutta Madrasah, and the Banaras Sanskrit College having singularly failed in their two main objects of promoting "useful learning" and conciliating the influential classes of the Indians, the Directors of the East India Company did not like that the Calcutta Sanskrit College should be founded on the old models. In their letter to the Governor-General dated February 18, 1824, they denounced Oriental sciences in no unmistakable terms, saying. "It is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the Oriental books" In their opinion it would be enough if documents of historical interest were translated by Europeans possessing the requisite knowledge If these branches were eliminated, "what remains in Oriental learning is poetry, but it has never been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry." They, therefore, held that the plan of the Oriental institutions was "originally and fundamentally erroneous." They said that in "teaching mere Hindoo, or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely

mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned" But they did not advocate any violent or immediate change of policy. On the other hand they cautioned that "in the institutions which exist on a particular footing alterations should not be introduced more rapidly than a due regard to existing interests and feelings will dictate"; but they suggested that the principle of utility should receive greater attention than heretofore[2]

But the General Committee of Public Instruction consisted mainly of Oriental scholars who vindicated their policy. They dwelt on the worth of Oriental learning and asserted that the people, because of "vigorous prejudices", were not prepared to be instructed in anything except Oriental learning For lack of suitable books and efficient teachers, the introduction of Western knowledge on a large scale was out of question. The Committee was trying to prepare suitable books and as soon as adequate means were available, the Directors' instructions would be acted upon This plea was accepted and the Committee went on pursuing its Orientalist policy.

Both the Calcutta Madrasah and the Banaras Sanskrit College had been working unsatisfactorily Abuses by the managements, neglect of studies and a general condition of inefficiency were the chief complaints As early as 1804, the Second Judge of Banaras and the acting President of the Banaras Sanskrit College said: "The College instead of being looked up to by the natives with respect and veneration, is an object of their ridicule, instead of an assemblage of learned Hindus, it resembles a band of pensioners supported by the charity of Government"[3] The Committee

[2] Revenue Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General-in-Council of Bengal dated 18th February, 1824, Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16 August, 1832, pp 331-32

[3] Nicholls· *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares*

set up in 1820 to investigate the Sanskrit College affairs also reached the conclusion "that the College has done little more than contribute to the maintenance of a certain number of Pandits and pupils, amongst whom literature and study have merely served as pleas for securing a maintenance. The special cause of this failure, we cannot doubt, has been the want of effective control, the absence of which has led to a total deficiency of arrangement in the order of study, and utter want of diligence and zeal in its prosecution"[4]

The General Committee of Public Instruction took steps to reform these two institutions The Calcutta Madrasah was housed in a new building specially constructed for the purpose and a "day school" for "a liberal elementary education" of Mahomedan youth, was also attached to it. Better superintendence, and a better method of examinations placed both the institutions on the road to progress. The examiners who were generally persons from outside the teaching staffs of the colleges, realized the necessity for the use of English as a medium of instruction for several sciences. An English class was attached to the Calcutta Madrasah in 1824, and the number of pupils in this class rose to 42 in 1828 (Governor-General's letter dated 21st August, 1829 to the Court of Directors). In 1830 a separate English Seminary was started in Banaras with two teachers from the Calcutta Vidyalaya. To encourage the study of English it was also announced by the Government in 1830 that for court appointments, other things being equal, a knowledge of English would receive preference.

Besides reorganising and reforming these two institutions, the Committee also established Oriental Colleges at Delhi and Agra.

Pathshala or Sanskrit College, pp 9-11.
[4] ibid, pp 28-37.

The Delhi College was established in 1825 with "useful knowledge" as its "chief end" In 1827 there were 40 students in Arabic, 50 in the higher classes of Persian, 97 in elementary classes and 17 in Sanskrit. The elements of Astronomy and Mathematics on European principles were taught and English was also introduced.

As the English classes attached to Oriental institutions could give only inadequate knowledge of the English language and literature because of their secondary importance, and as a mere smattering of broken English could possibly lead to no improvement in the intellectual and moral character of the native population, the Court of the Company's Directors in their letter of August 21, 1829 concurred with the view of the General Committee that "the best mode of encouraging and promoting the study" of the English language and literature "would be the formation of separate English colleges"

The Agra College was founded with the help of considerable landed property left by a Pandit. The College taught Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi In 1827 there were 121 students studying Arabic and Persian and 63 students studying Sanskrit and Hindi. About 1828 an English class was also started

The Committee's plans in 1827 for an Oriental college at Bareilly did not materialize for lack of funds.

Besides the Oriental institutions of higher learning mentioned above, the supervision of the Chinsurah schools, the Rajputana schools, the Free School at Kanpur, the Bhagalpore School, the Bhawanipore and Kidderpore Schools also passed into the hands of the Committee. The Committee did not try to impose its policy of Oriental colleges on these schools as most of these had originated before the Committee itself, and some were supported by voluntary subscription and aimed at teaching English to Indian lads.

The Committee also established a press at Calcutta, and during the period ending in 1830, 15 works in Sanskrit, 3 in Hindi, 4 in Persian and 2 in Arabic were published. It undertook, in 1830, to publish the *Mahabharata* at a cost of Rs. 20,000 but this work could not be completed because of the subsequent change in the Government's educational policy.

Critical Observations

From this brief review of the origin, development and working of the Orientalist policy under the General Committee of Public Instruction, a few facts stand out.

The Orientalists were not opposed to the teaching of English or Western sciences which they introduced on public demand into their institutions of Oriental learning But they rightly felt that a mere smattering of the English language, without a deeper understanding of the literature of England would not bring about any moral or intellectual improvement They, therefore, wanted to start independent English seminaries at Banaras, Delhi and Agra. The Orientalists, guided as they were by orthodox Maulvis and Pandits, generally exaggerated the people's opposition to Western knowledge, and failed to take adequate account of the rising tide of public opinion in favour of English and Western knowledge The lack of funds for education was responsible for their initial uncompromising attitude towards the Anglicists They did not want to share their scanty funds with the latter

The Orientalists were right in their view that a synthesis of Oriental learning and Western knowledge was desirable with a view to grafting the latter on to the former so that the two grew up and developed into one organic whole. But their technique was defective, and they failed There was little or no co-ordination between the Oriental and English

departments in the Oriental colleges. The English class was only an appendage and not an organic part of the college.

That such an integration of Oriental learning and Western knowledge could be done successfully was demonstrated later by Launcelot Wilkinson, Political Resident at Bhopal in his school at Sehore, and by Dr Ballantyne who became the Principal of Banaras Sanskrit College, in 1846. These two gentlemen made Oriental learning their starting point, and corrected, modified or added to it through various Western sources The success of these experiments was admirable, but it came too late, at a time when the Anglicists had won the day and were in no mood for a compromise.

The Orientalists believed in the "Theory of Downward Filtration" and did not directly concern themselves with the education of the masses. They, however, thought rightly that the study of classical languages was bound to enrich and standardise the vernacular languages through which alone knowledge could reach the common people

The Evolution and the Stand Point of the Anglicist Policy

The origin of the vogue for English among the Indians must be traced to the people's desire to learn the language of their rulers. An intimate contact with the English in their important settlements, and a greater scope for service in the Company's offices which a knowledge of English opened up must have been very powerful incentives. The establishment of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1774, no doubt, gave an added stimulus to the demand for the English language

CHARLES GRANT (1746-1823)

Towards the end of the 18th century Charles Grant made suggestions remarkable for their prediction about the whole course of Indian education in the next century. He initiated a controversy about the content and medium of instruction which raged during the first half of the 19th century and was ultimately decided in favour of what Grant had recommended.

Charles Grant arrived in India in 1767 at the age of twenty-one, and was employed by Richard Becher to assist in his private business Civilians at that time were allowed to trade on their private account. He went back to England in 1771 owing to ill health, but returned to Calcutta in 1773. Warren Hastings created a new department known as the Board of Trade and Charles Grant became its Secretary. In 1780 he became Commercial Resident at Malda where the Company controlled a flourishing silk factory. He finally returned to England in 1790

In 1792 Grant wrote a tract entitled "*Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals, and on the Means of improving it.*"

Grant paints a very dark picture of Indian life which he sums up in the following words. "Upon the whole we cannot help recognizing in the people of Hindoostan, a race of men lamentably degenerate and base, retaining but a feeble sense of moral obligation, ...governed by their malevolent and licentious passions . . and sunk in misery by their vices."

Charles Grant seems to have deliberately exaggerated his account of the moral degradation of India to attract more missionaries for evangelization work and to induce the Directors of the Company and the British Parliament to include a clause in the Charter Act of 1793 permitting mis-

sionaries and schoolmasters free access to India His motive might have been really philanthropic, but the language used by him was injudicious and least calculated to make his suggestions acceptable to those whom he sought to benefit.

Grant also suggests remedies to improve the condition of the Indians, and it is his suggestions that are important from the point of view of the development of Modern Indian Education. He said, "The true cure of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant, and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders, and this remedy is proposed, from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us."

A knowledge of Western sciences and literature could be communicated to the Indians both through English and the vernaculars. Although Grant was unwilling "to pass an exclusive decision" on the subject of the medium of instruction, he was in favour of "the communication of our knowledge.. .... .by the medium of our language."

He further adds:

"The first communication, and the instrument of introducing the rest, must be the English language; this is a key which will open to them a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands."

He thought that "places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English" could be easily established "at a moderate expense in various parts of the provinces." "The Hindoos would in time become teachers of English themselves, and the employment of our language in public business for which every political reason remains in full force,

would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan but the hearty patronage of Government" "The simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion," communicated through the medium of English "would silently undermine and at length subvert the fabric of error" The press would also help in the rapid spread of English. "The art of printing would enable us to disseminate our writings in a way the Persians never could have done"

Grant strongly believed that it was necessary to communicate to the Indians a knowledge of the Christian religion, because that alone could promote the well-being and happiness of mankind. "Do we, then," he says, "wish to correct, to raise, to sweeten the social state of our Indian subjects? Would we, at little cost, impart to them a boon, far, far more valuable than all the advantages we have derived from them? The Gospel brings this within our power!"

Grant's suggestions had a far reaching effect on the development of modern Indian education. He was the first person to raise his powerful voice in favour of English education His basic recommendation—introduction of Western knowledge through the medium of English—was definitely accepted by the Government of India in 1835. Most of all, he was the first to urge upon the East India Company to give the country an organised system of Western education. But his dream of making English the general language of India was vain Acquainted as he was only with parts of Bengal, he could not realise the magnitude of this task. Grant's *Observations* was not published by the time the Company's Charter came up for discussion in 1793, but later it was published by order of the House of Commons and did influence considerably the Charter Act of 1813, by which the East India Company was made to accept its responsibility for the education of the Indian

people. Charles Grant may truly be called a great pioneer of English education in India.

The general belief that the teaching of English literature and science was bound to lead to the people's conversion to Christianity by knocking out their superstitious and religious beliefs, led Carey, Marshman, Ward and others to start English schools early in the 19th century Later, Serampur College (1818), Scottish Church College in Calcutta and the Madras Mission College were founded to provide higher education in English literature When the Charter Act of 1813 gave greater freedom to the missionaries from all countries for their work in India, missionary activities expanded and intensified. In most cases the missionary schools taught English side by side with the vernacular languages By 1818 a non-Conformist missionary, named Robert May, had started as many as 36 schools with 3,000 pupils reading in them By the same year the Church Missionary Society had in Burdwan and its neighbourhood 10 schools with over 1,000 pupils. The Serampur missionaries in 1820 had in Calcutta or its vicinity about 20 schools with over 800 pupils in them. Non-missionary private effort was also responsible for several English schools in places like Banaras and Kanpur where pupils flocked for instruction in English

But the most important concrete shape that this rising tide of popularity for English took was the establishment, in 1817, of the Calcutta Vidyalaya through the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, David Hare and Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta In his letters to a friend, Sir Edward Hyde East has given an interesting account of the various meetings held by the important Hindus of Calcutta at his house for starting the Vidyalaya. The sum from private contributions amounted to over a lakh of rupees, and although the Government, for fear of giving umbrage to influential

Hindus and Muslims, refused to give countenance to the scheme, the Vidyalaya was established in 1817 for "the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos, in the English and Indian languages and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia."

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and English Education

Ram Mohan Roy was born around the year 1772 in Radhanagar in The Hoogli district. After a rudimentary education at a local school, he was sent to Patna where he acquired a sound knowledge of both Persian and Arabic. Having shocked his parents with his unorthodox views, Ram Mohan wandered for several years, studying the social customs and religious beliefs and practices of the people in different parts of India He studied English, and also acquired a working knowledge of Hebrew and Greek for a better understanding of the Old and New Testaments. By dint of industry and ability he rose to the highest post in the Revenue Department open to Indians The sight of his elder brother's widow, performing "suttee" under compulsion, filled him with indignation and he resolved to get this cruel practice abolished After ten years' Government service, he retired to devote himself to social and religious reform. In 1814 he founded the *Atmeeya Sabha*, and in the course of the next few years published several books on religious subjects. His views on Christianity brought him into conflict with Marshman and other missionaries. But one missionary named Adam was so convinced of the correctness of Ram Mohan's religious views that he renounced his faith in the Trinity. Both Adam and he founded the Calcutta Unitarian Committee in 1821 for the removal "of ignorance and superstition by education, rational discussion and publication of books", both in English and in Bengali. Ram Mohan took a leading part in the movement

for the spread of English education. He took a leading part in founding the Calcutta Vidyalaya. When some other Hindus threatened to withdraw their support from the Vidyalaya project because of Ram Mohan's unorthodox views, he willingly dissociated himself from the scheme and allowed David Hare to take a leading part in it.

When the newly formed General Committee of Public Instruction sanctioned the completion of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta in lieu of the colleges earlier promised to be established at Nadia and Tirhut, Ram Mohan addressed a letter of protest to the Governor-General him-self in 1823 He pleaded that the sum of [illegible] rupees sanctioned by the British Parliament wa[illegible] "the instruction of the natives of India," but [illegible] ment can be expected from inducing young men [illegible] a dozen years of the most valuable period of [illegible] acquiring the niceties of the Byakaran or Sanskrit [illegible] In the proposed Sanskrit College, he said [illegible] acquire what was known two thousand years [illegible] addition of vain and empty subtleties [illegible] speculative men, such as is already com[illegible] parts of India." He concluded, "T[illegible] education would be the best calcula[illegible] in darkness", adding "but a[illegible] population is the object of [illegible] promote a more liberal an[illegible] tion, embracing mathemati[illegible] and anatomy, with other [illegible] accomplished with the su[illegible] gentlemen of talent and le[illegible] providing a college furni[illegible] instruments and other ap[illegible]

Neither the Governme[illegible] Public Instruction [illegible]

*Quoted in Selections [illegible]

Ram Mohan's criticism of the Government's Orientalist policy was ignored, and the Committee followed its own practice of encouraging Oriental learning.

Ram Mohan supported Duff's proposal for a college in Calcutta although besides English, the teaching of the Bible was to be made compulsory there He held that a study of the Bible need not necessarily undermine the faith of devout Hindus.

We have no space here to discuss the numerous other spheres where Ram Mohan tried to bring about reforms, e.g. the establishment of *Brahmo Samaj*, (1828), his part in the abolition of Suttee (1828), his advocacy of female education and widow re-marriage, etc In 1830, he set sail for England where his presence and advice influenced the Charter Act of 1833

It would not be true to say that Ram Mohan did not realize the cultural and historical value of the classical languages of India, for he himself founded an institution of his own for higher studies in Sanskrit But he realized more than any other Indian of his age the importance of English education. The retrograde policy of the Indian Government provoked him into the use of strong language in condemnation of the Sanskrit system of education, but, as a matter of fact, he stood for a synthesis of the best of what the East and the West had to offer His own life was a testimony to this.

David Hare and English Education

David Hare was a secularist watch-maker who arrived in India in 1800 and devoted the first fifteen years of his stay here to the amassing of a moderate fortune. Then he decided to stay on in India and devote the remainder of his life to the education and moral improvement of Bengal.

He took a leading part in the establishment of the

Calcutta Vidyalaya; and later, when the institution was in financial difficulties, he secured Government help for it. He gave a plot of land for a building in which the Calcutta Vidyalaya and the Sanskrit College could be housed together for the common teaching of experimental philosophy. As a member of the Managing Committee, David Hare continued to take a keen interest in the affairs of the Vidyalaya which made rapid progress

He was also a member of the Calcutta School Book Society, paying an annual subscription of one hundred rupees He was the Secretary and one of the founders of the Calcutta School Society which started several schools for better elementary education of the people One school at Arpooly was personally looked after and partially financed by David Hare himself. It prospered and had an English department added to it to serve as a feeder to the Calcutta Vidyalaya.

Hare was also thinking of doing something for female education when he died of cholera in 1842. By his example and association with numerous institutions David Hare gave a strong impetus to the spread of English education in India

Little change in the Policy of the General Committee of Public Instruction

As I have already mentioned, the General Committee of Public Instruction did not take adequate notice of the growing volume of public opinion in favour of English education. On the representations from the local managing committees of the Oriental colleges at Calcutta, Banaras, Agra and Delhi, English classes were attached or separate English seminaries started In the meantime students from the Calcutta Vidyalaya went forth and either started, or worked in, numerous schools in the country.

Unlike the Orientalists who believed in a synthesis of Oriental learning and Western knowledge, the Anglicists condemned Oriental knowledge as good for nothing and advocated the spread of a knowledge of Western literature and science through the medium of English. In Trevelyan's words, under the Hindu system of learning, "history is made up of fables,..... . .its medicine is quackery, its geography and astronomy are monstrous absurdity; its law is composed of loose contradictory maxims, and barbarous and ridiculous penal provisions, its religion is idolatory, its immorality is such as might be expected from the examples of the Gods and the precepts of religion"[6]

Critical Observations

There is little doubt about the fact that instruction in English was rapidly gaining in popularity during the early years of the 19th century. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's biographer, Collet, reports him as remarking to somebody in England, "Two-thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning." Even Adam, who championed the cause of vernacular education, said in his first report of 1835 "The desire to obtain a knowledge of the English language has been so great that a school in which this was not taught was sure to dwindle away." The Court of Directors also considerably changed their views in 1830 when they wrote to Bengal. "It is highly advisable to enable and encourage a large number of the natives to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, being convinced that the higher tone and better spirit of European literature can produce their full effect only on

[6] *On the Education of the People of India*, pp 83-84.

those who become familiar with them in the origina[l] language." They also gave another reason for encouragin[g] the study of English literature: "The fittest persons fo[r] translating English scientific books or for putting thei[r] substance into a shape adapted to Asiatic students are natives who have studied profoundly in the original works."

The question that arises has been nicely put by Howell the following words:

"It is one of the most unintelligible facts in the history English education in India that at the very time when natives themselves were crying out for instruction in European literature and science and were protesting against continuance of the prevailing Orientalism, a body of English gentlemen appointed to initiate a system of education for the country was found to insist upon the [rete]ntion of Oriental learning to the practical exclusion of [Eur]opean learning."

[Th]e attitude of the General Committee of Public Instruc[tion] however, is not unintelligible. The Orientalists knew the people generally did not want a knowledge of [Euro]pean literature and science through the medium of [Engl]ish so much as a knowledge of the English language sufficient to qualify them for jobs in the Company and numerous British firms that had sprung up. A [smatt]ering of English which was possible for them to [acquir]e could not effect any intellectual or moral improve[ment]. Wilson has nicely clarified the whole position in [Ed]ucation of the Natives of India, as follows:

[To] extend a smattering of English throughout India, is little good . . . . To spread a thin sheet of water [over a v]ast tract, will generate only slime and weeds, ferti-

[Le]tter from the Court to Bengal, dated Sept. 29, 1830.
[...] Education in British India ...

lity is the consequence of deep and judiciously distributed irrigation."[9]

Again he said.

"The great body of those who are willing to engage in the study (of English) want the language and nothing more Of the language, also, they want only as much as can be turned to profit, as will enable them to earn subsistence . . . It is, therefore, as vain to seek to extend very widely a profound acquaintance with English literature, as it is needless to disseminate a superficial use of our language. Either attempt will be a mischievous waste of labour and money, diverting them from objects of greater practicality and advantage."

So there is nothing unintelligible about the Orientalist policy of the General Committee. But the Committee was not against a knowledge of English literature and science. It simply wanted to graft Western knowledge on Oriental learning and refused to replace Oriental learning entirely with it. It was the scarcity of the funds, as Lord Auckland realized in his Minute of 1839, that prevented the General Committee to give English education as much attention as people desired.

Their gross ignorance of the Indian people and Indian institutions, and the combatant mood that blinded them to the real state of affairs, led Anglicists like Trevelyan and Macaulay into the use of a nauseatingly abusive language in their condemnation of Oriental learning Their views on this point need no further refutation at the present time. Their political designs for a cultural conquest of India coincided with the popular demand for a superficial knowledge of English, and they wanted to take full advantage of it They raised such an amount of noise and dust that wise counsels were drowned and the real issues veiled

[9] *Asiatic Journal* Vol.XIX, 1836.

Their contempt of Oriental learning has had a far reaching effect on later Indo-British relations, as has been very ably pointed out by C. H. Philips

"This contemptuous attitude of mind, first implied by Cornwallis's wholesale anglicization of the Company's administration, then supported by Wilberforce's reaction to Hinduism, and capped by Macaulay's complete condemnation of Indian cultures, was representative of an influential section of English opinion throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, it largely accounts for the general English lack of interest in things Indian and, despite a close association of two hundred years, a comparative neglect in Britain of Indian studies"[10]

CHAPTER XIII

THE TRIUMPH AND WORKING OF THE ANGLICIST POLICY

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1833

BEFORE the Charter of the Company came up before the British Parliament for renewal in 1833, the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to investigate into the affairs of the East India Company. The report of this Select Committee, based either on the personal evidence or writings of those who knew India well, is a great source of information on the subject of Indian education. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was present in England at the time. He made some far-reaching suggestions, e g., the substitution of English for Persian as the language of the law courts, the codification of the Criminal and Civil Law, the appointment of Indians to posts of trust and responsibility, etc We have seen how the Court of Directors had already expressed themselves strongly, in 1829, against the first suggestion and it was ultimately not accepted Ram Mohan Roy's idea was to make the study of English more popular. The second suggestion was accepted, and to the Supreme Council was added a Law Member who was to be responsible for drawing up the Penal Code and the Codes of Criminal Procedure. This post was first held by Macaulay who also became the president of the General Committee of Public Instruction and wrote his famous Minute on the Anglo-Orientalist controversy in 1835.

But the most important clause, for its effect on the course of Indian education, was that no Indian "by reason of his colour, caste or creed" should be "disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the Company."

This stimulated the study of the English language by Indians as nothing else could possibly do, although part of the real motive behind this measure was to keep down the cost of the administration of the country This provision in the Charter Act made it desirable that higher education should be imparted mainly through the medium of the English language The Charter also strengthened the control of the Bengal Government over the two other Presidencies with the result that the educational policy of Bengal was bound to supersede the vernacularist tendencies of Madras and Bombay

THE TRIUMPH OF THE ANGLICISTS

We have discussed how the Orientalist policy evolved, and how it was followed by the General Committee of Public Instruction when it came into existence in 1823 We have also discussed how the movement for English education was gathering momentum although it was mainly ignored by the Committee From the account already given it must have been clear that a conflict was inevitable.

In the early thirties of the 19th century the strength of the Orientalists and the Anglicists on the General Committee of Public Instruction was evenly balanced No business could be transacted at its meetings because on every issue there were five votes in its favour and five votes against it. Matters came to a head when proposals to make English compulsory for scholarship holders at the Calcutta Madrasah and to convert the Oriental College at Agra into an Anglo-Indian College (where English literature and science were to be the prime subjects and Hindi and Persian subsidiary subjects, to the entire exclusion of Sanskrit and Arabic literature) came up before the General Committee Unable to take a decision on these far-reaching changes, the Committee made a

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reference to the Government for a final decision about the conflicting policies advocated by the rival groups. Macaulay, the president of the General Committee, who had abstained from siding with either party at the Committee meetings, wrote his famous Minute of February 2, 1835 in favour of the Anglicist view-point, and the Government, by their entire concurrence with it, changed the entire course of Indian education.

Macaulay's Minute of 1835

Macaulay began his Minute by questioning the Orientalists' interpretation of the educational clause in the Company's Charter Act of 1813. He contended that by the phrase, "the revival and improvement of literature", the British legislature did not necessarily mean Sanskrit and Arabic literature and that the appellation of "a learned native" could equally suitably be applied "to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the metaphysics of Locke, and the physics of Newton" He also added "This lakh of rupees is set apart, not only for reviving literature in India, the phrase on which their whole interpretation is founded, but also 'for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories'—words which are alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend"

The closure of the colleges of Oriental learning or withdrawal of the endowments to them by the Government would involve no breach of public faith, because the Government always had the right to change a policy which failed to achieve the desired end

Having thus proved to his own satisfaction that the sum of one lakh of rupees could be spent by the Government in any way they liked, Macaulay went on to ask. "The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employ-

ing it?" He brushed aside the claim of the vernacular languages on the ground that they "contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work in them" Having eliminated the vernacular languages, he said, the choice remained only between the classical languages of India and English' Then banishing his reason, common sense, and even decency he indulged in the most abusive language about the classical literature of India which contained "medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English Boarding School, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter" According to him "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia," and "all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England," But a person with a knowledge of the English language "has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations." He thus reached the conclusion that "the English tongue . . . would be the most useful to our native subjects" He asked rhetorically, "When it is in our power to teach this language, shall we teach languages in which by universal confession, there are no books on any subjects which deserve to be compared to our own?"

Referring to the growing popularity of English, Macaulay said, "We are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanskrit students while those who learn English are willing to pay us". While the Sanskrit publications of the General Committee found no buyers, English books of the School Book

Society were sold rapidly. Indeed, the very purpose of conciliating the influential Indians was defeated by the Orientalist policy. Students after twelve years' study at Government expense found themselves useless and represented "their education as an injury which gives them a claim on the Government for redress." Indeed, Government expenditure on Oriental learning was not only "a dead loss to the cause of Truth", but it was also "bounty money paid to raise up champions of error" Even the value of Sanskrit and Arabic for an acquaintance with Hindu and Muslim law would disappear because "as soon as the Code is promulgated the Shasters and the Hedaya will be useless to a Moonsiff or a Sudder Ameen." But Trevelyan regarded Arabic and Sanskrit as "highly deserving of being studied and preserved", but only "as a medium for investigating the history of the country, and the progress of mind and manners during so many ages"[1] The claim of the classical languages of India could not be defended even on religious grounds because they were "barren of useful knowledge" and "fruitful of monstrous superstitions" and the Government were dissuaded from "teaching false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion" He said that the contention of the Orientalists that most Indians could not "possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English," was disproved by the "facility and correctness" with which English was employed by many Hindus.

Then he summed up his arguments· "I think it is clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813, that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied, that we are free to employ our funds as we choose, that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth-knowing, that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic, that the natives are desirous to be

[1] *On the Education of the People of India*, pp 182-85

taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic, that neither as the languages of law nor as the languages of religion have Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement, that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed"

Towards the end of his Minute Macaulay came out with his real imperialist design of creating "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" for a cultural conquest of India. He then suggested the immediate stopping of "the printing of Arabic and Sanskrit books", the abolition of "the Madrasah and the Sanskrit College at Calcutta," the retention, if necessary, of "the Sanskrit College at Banaras and Mahometan College at Delhi", but only on the condition that "no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair there" and the funds thus saved should be spent on "larger encouragement to the Hindoo College at Calcutta" and the establishment "in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught"[2]

From the extracts from Prinsep's Diary[3] it is clear that the Orientalists were given no chance to present their point of view at the Council meeting, that Prinsep was actually rebuked for replying to Macaulay's Minute and the Resolution of 7th March, 1835 was passed simply because the Governor-General had endorsed Macaulay's Minute with the words "I give my entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in the Minute"

[2] Condensed from Macaulay's Minute of February 2, 1835, quoted also in full by Paranjpe in his *Source Book of Indian Education*
[3] Quoted in the *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, p 133 onwards.

Lord Bentinck's Resolution of 1835

The preamble of the Resolution, stating that the Governor-General of India in Council had attentively considered the two letters (dated 21st and 22nd January last) from the Secretary (i e., Prinsep) to the General Committee of Public Instruction, was a wrong statement of facts The Resolution stated "The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone" While promising that the existing institutions of Oriental learning would not be abolished as long as people resorted there, and that the stipends then being given to teachers and pupils would not be stopped, the Resolution directed that "no stipends shall be given to any students that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions, and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor" The Resolution also directed that "no portion of the funds shall hereafter be employed on the printing of Oriental works." His Lordship-in-Council also directed that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language, and His Lordship-in-Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose"[4]

[4] Lord Bentinck's Resolution of 1835 is quoted in full by Paranjpe in his *Source Book of Indian Education*

Thus was the Orientalists-Anglicists controversy in Bengal decided by the Government in favour of the Anglicists.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

Macaulay's Minute surpasses all documents of historical interest in its use of unnecessarily violent and abusive language, in its unwarranted, sweeping generalisations, in its distortion of facts to suit the author's own arguments, in its mischievous presentation of half truths and in its arch imperialistic designs of a cultural conquest of India The "entire concurrence" of the Governor-General with Macaulay's sentiments without giving the Orientalists any chance of presenting their case adds insult to injury.

It was not so much Macaulay's arguments as Bentinck's own prepossessions that were responsible for the Government Resolution of 1835 Full six years earlier Bentinck had contemplated the introduction of English as the language of the law courts, to which proposal the Directors, in their letter of September 29, 1830, had replied as follows

"With a view to give the natives an additional motive to the acquisition of the English language, you have it in contemplation gradually to introduce English as the language of Public business in all its departments, and you have determined to begin at once by adopting the practice of corresponding in English with all native princes or persons of rank who are known to understand that language, or to have persons about them who understand it. From the meditated change in the language of public business, including judicial proceedings, you anticipate several collateral advantages the principal of which is that the judge, or other European officer, being thoroughly acquainted with the language in which the proceedings are held, will be, and appear to be, less dependent upon the natives by whom he is surrounded, and those natives in

consequence, enjoy fewer opportunities of bribery or other undue emolument."

I have already quoted the portion of this letter which directs that English at least should not be made the language of the law courts. Both Lord William Bentinck's prepossessions and the reasons are clear. He was thinking more of the convenience of a handful of European officers than of the education of the Indian people.

Macaulay's diatribe against the worth of Oriental literature needs no refutation now when the world knows so much about it. His remarks on the subject are as worthless as were his qualifications to undertake the task. He confessed. "I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic;" and there are good reasons to doubt whether he had even "read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanskrit works" The confusion between historical facts and mythology and allegories, coming from an eminent historian like Macaulay, can lead only to one conclusion His intentions were malicious.

His own interpretation of the phrases, "revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of learned natives," was strained Minto's complaint in 1811 of the deteriorating condition of Oriental learning and his subsequent influence on the provision of the Charter Act of 1813 do not leave a shadow of doubt that the British legislature really meant by those phrases what the Orientalists supposed.

According to Prinsep also, if "the intention of the legislature of that day" is consulted, "there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any person that by 'the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of learned natives' the legislature did not mean to refer to any other literature than native literature nor to any other learned natives than such as were eminent by their proficiency in that literature." Macaulay's marginal remark on this point

facts. Macaulay wrote, "On the legal question I have had the opinion of Sir E. Ryan. He pronounces that there is not the shadow of a reason for Mr. Prinsep's construction."

Again, it is also highly unjust to insinuate that all the funds were being spent on Oriental learning alone. The General Committee gave grants to the Calcutta Vidyalaya, to the Calcutta School Book Society and to several schools in which English was taught, though it is certainly true that a much larger portion was spent on Oriental learning. Even if the Orientalists were wrong in emphasizing the first object of "reviving literature in India," Macaulay was wholly wrong in eliminating this part altogether and concentrating on "the introduction and promotion of a knowledge" of English literature and science although these were not mentioned in the Act I have already pointed out elsewhere that the Orientalists were not against a knowledge of English literature and Western sciences, but they wanted to graft these on to a sound knowledge of Oriental learning.

H. T Prinsep in his Note of February 15, 1835, has shown how Macaulay made sweeping statements on inadequate grounds. In 1833, the English master at the Calcutta Madrasah was able to collect from his out-students the sum of Rs 103/- during a period of three months, about a third of his month's salary, while a monthly sum of Rs.500/- was given by way of stipends or scholarships to 77 (out of a total of about 300) students From this, Macaulay concluded. "We cannot find in our vast empire a single student who will let us teach those dialects, unless we will pay him" But only about 25% of the students received stipends or scholarships as a result of a competitive examination At the Sanskrit College, Banaras, although the number of stipends and scholarships was "only 130, up-

wards of three hundred students pressed forward for examination." Can there be a worse distortion of facts?

Here are Prinsep's own words:

"The fact that a sum of about Rs 30/- a month was realized when upwards of three hundred per mensem is paid from the Committee's funds to the schoolmaster is surely no proof of violent desire for instruction in English which is inferred from it. If, again, the desire of this instruction were so great, how comes it to have been proposed to make the learning of English compulsory in the Madrasah and how does it happen that of all the students now in the Madrasah there are but two who have made progress beyond the spelling books?"

Macaulay, again, brushed aside the claim of the vernacular languages on the ground that they were undeveloped and crude and contained no literature worthy of study. Although he hinted that there was a great need for their enrichment from some source, he ignored how this could be effected Did he mean that the study of the English language and literature would automatically enrich the vernacular languages? Indeed, the method that he suggested was best calculated to retard their development altogether as our experience of more than a century has shown. But Macaulay's scheme of a cultural conquest of India could not succeed if the vernacular languages were given a chance of development. B D Basu[5] has shown how a similar educational policy was followed by the British in Ireland He quotes the following passage from Prof H Holman's *English National Education* (p 50).

"As far back as 1537 the Irish Parliament, under the English Privy Council, had founded parochial schools—for the purpose of changing Irishmen into Englishmen, if that were possible."

And here in India, Macaulay wanted to raise a class of

[5] *Education in India under E I Company*, p 95

persons English in everything except in colour and blood. And he did succeed in creating an English-knowing class of Indians who have been cut off from the main bulk of non-English-knowing Indians.

There can hardly be any doubt about Macaulay's real intentions. Major B. D. Basu[6] has quoted Macaulay's letter to his father written in 1836 as follows.

"The effect of this education on the Hindus is prodigious. No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure Deists and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence"

Macaulay's intention to undermine the social and religious life of India is clear

Much is made of a portion of the 1836 Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction prepared under Macaulay's chairmanship, in defence of Macaulay's real intention with regard to the vernaculars The report says

"We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th March precludes us from doing this."

The best answer to this was given by Wilson in his evidence on July 5, 1853, before the Select Committee of the House of Lords

Lord Elphinstone, one of the members of the Committee, asked Wilson

"Was it not the fact that what Lord William Bentinck recommended was not the introduction of English to supersede the vernacular languages, but only the employ-

[6] *Education in India under E I Company*, p. 111.

ment of English as a medium of education, instead of the Persian and the Sanskrit?"

"No, there was no qualification in regard to the vernacular languages, the order begins with this sentence, 'It is the opinion of the Governor-General that all funds which are available for the purposes of education should be applied to the cultivation of English alone.'"[7]

Obviously Wilson was quoting from memory So his words are different, but he gets correctly the substance of Bentinck's Resolution. Lord Curzon, seventy years later, thus summed up the result of the Anglicists' policy of ignoring the claims of the vernacular languages. "Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of Indian languages and Indian text-books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongue has shrivelled and pined"

There is, however, no doubt about the great popularity of English in large towns, although the reasons advanced by Macaulay in support of this are defective. I have already disposed of one his reasons—the popularity of English at the Calcutta Madrasah Another reason that Macaulay gave was the larger sale of English books than that of Arabic or Sanskrit books. It was partly because of the high prices of the latter. But the popularity of English among influential Hindus could not be denied As I have already pointed out elsewhere, it was mainly confined to those who sought closer contact with the rulers or employment with the Company or some British firm The missionaries saw in this desire of the people possibilities for the latter's conversion, and many Company officials saw in this the advantage of running the administration of India more cheaply because the Indians were ready to work on smaller salaries than those demanded by Englishmen The

[7] Quoted by B D Basu *Education in India under E. I. Company*, pp 94-5.

latter also saw in this the chances of greater security and permanence of the British Empire People like Bentinck, therefore, encouraged the people's desire for instruction in English and the Anglicists exaggerated this desire to suppress the Orientalist policy. Macaulay's Minute only enabled Lord William Bentinck to achieve what he wanted without directly coming into the controversy. The contention of some English writers on Indian education that even without Macaulay's Minute and Bentinck's Resolution, the course of English education would have been the same does not seem to be at all convincing

Both the Orientalists and the Anglicists pinned their faith on the theory of "Downward Filtration" They wanted to educate only a small class of people in the hope that the latter's culture and knowledge would automatically filter down to the masses. They really never wanted, for the ostensible reason of the lack of adequate funds, to tackle the problem of the education of the masses Because of this, they did not try to improve indigenous schools and build a suitable educational structure on their foundation As Mahatma Gandhi in a speech already mentioned, put it aptly, ". . . . . . instead of taking hold of things as they were" the English "began to root them out" "English education on the lines of the Downward Filtration Theory," as A N Basu has said, "helped in further dividing this much-divided country, in creating yet another caste in this caste-ridden land of ours They introduced yet another language, the English, and so they helped in perpetuating the tyranny of yet another learned class by keeping all knowledge locked up in a language but half understood even by those who studied it"[8] Adam also criticised this policy in his Reports "The policy," he said, "requires us to have first zilla, next pergunnah and then village schools", it, "follows that we ought not to have

[8] *Education in Modern India*, p 26.

even zilla schools till we have provincial colleges, nor the latter till we have national universities, nor these till we have a cosmopolitan one .. To make the superstructure lofty and firm, the foundations should be broad and deep, and thus building from the foundation, all classes of institutions and every grade of instruction may be combined with harmonious and salutary effect."[9]

Some English writers on Indian education, more anxious to paint the British mistakes or imperialistic design in glowing colours, cloud the real issues. H R James in his *Education and Statesmanship* in India devotes a whole chapter to proving that the adoption of English was not a mistake. He says, "It was the question of the admission, or refusal of admission, to Western enlightenment of the peoples of India, when they asked for it and when their political history brought them within its gates."[10]

But this was not the question at all. The real question was. Through what medium could that knowledge best reach the Indian people at large? And no man in his senses will hold that it could be done, or can ever be done, except through the medium of the people's own languages Moreover, the few advanced Hindus who clamoured for this knowledge would have got it without Government force, as they did when the Orientalist policy held sway. Neither the Orientalists nor the Vernacularists were against Western light, it was only on the point of a suitable medium that they differed.

If the Orientalists had not been anxious to please the influential classes of the orthodox Moulvies and Pandits, who gave the former wrong impressions about the people's sentiments, and if the Anglicists had not taken advantage of the cheap popularity of English for their administrative and imperialistic designs, an equitable solution of the

[9] Adam's Reports (Calcutta Edition), pp 357-8.
[10] p 31.

problem could have been found. The Government could have concentrated on the education of the masses through the medium of their own languages, providing also the means of instruction in English and Oriental learning for those who desired it and were able to profit by it But the latter should have been open to Indians only after a minimum standard of proficiency in the vernacular languages had been attained.

The Reception of Bentinck's Resolution of 1835

We have already seen how, in the controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, the Government threw their whole weight on the side of the former by stopping the publication of Oriental works and the granting of fresh stipends to students of Oriental learning, and by deciding that "all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education" together with the savings thus effected in the expenditure on Oriental education should "be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language."

This Government Resolution of 1835, as is generally supposed, did not immediately bring the controversy to an end The Orientalists on the General Committee of Public Instruction with W.H. Macnaughten at their head vigorously protested and criticised the Resolution Macnaughten pointed out that the Resolution violated the Charter Act of 1813 by ignoring "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India" altogether. It was unjust not to fill up a vacancy in an Oriental college if the number of the students offering the subject was not satisfactory because the fall in the number could be due to "temporary causes" Prinsep's attack was more spirited Besides repeating the old fami-

liar arguments, Prinsep pointed out the objectionable manner in which the Resolution had been passed without giving the Orientalists any chance to present their point of view at the Council meeting The Government, however, did not think it "necessary or proper to revive" the questions which had been decided by the Resolution of the 7th March Thereupon both Macnaughten and Prinsep resigned their membership of the General Committee in protest The President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal also protested to the Government against their step in a letter dated June 3, 1835 The Resolution, the President pointed out, ignored the necessity and value of the classical languages for the development of the vernaculars and discouraged their study on the part of the Europeans also who exercised a healthy influence on the natives. It got wind that Government were contemplating the abolition of the Calcutta Madrasah and so 8,312 influential Muslims sent a petition to the Governor-General just when the Resolution was under consideration. Seventy students of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, also prayed in an application to Government to continue the old practice of giving stipends to deserving students of Oriental learning The Hindu Community of Bengal sent a petition to the Court of the Directors of the East India Company against the measure the Government had ordered.

The Resolution of the 7th March was criticised not only because it aimed at suppressing Oriental learning but also because the encouragement of the vernacular languages formed no part of its policy. The British Resident at Nepal, B. H Hodgson, championed the cause of the vernaculars in a series of letters to the newspapers Besides advancing the arguments of Bombay vernacularists, Hodgson pointed out that the adoption of the English medium would lead to "a monopoly of knowledge, and, as a consequence, to the oppression of the many, by the few," both

in administration and elsewhere. The Anglicists were, he said, "a drop literally in the ocean, and a drop too, separated from the mass of waters by the strongest antipathy." Clinching his arguments, he said, "I object to the anti-vernacular organ of education, and of administration, not merely as aiding and confirming the tendency of knowledge itself to become monopolised and perverted to the uses of oppression, but also because, firstly, it is apt to generate or confirm servile intellectual habits, especially when combined with the absence of political liberty, and because, secondly, it is not less apt to divorce speculation from experiences, theory from practice, abstractions from life"[11] It would not be enough, Hodgson maintained, to present Western knowledge in the garb of Indian vernaculars, it was necessary to "indigenate" it, to integrate it with the existing knowledge and feelings of the Indian people In other words, he wanted, like the Orientalists, to graft Western knowledge on Oriental learning so that the two were integrated into one organic whole.

These criticisms of the Resolution of the 7th March led Lord Auckland to effect a sort of compromise without sacrificing the essential principles of the Anglicist policy. The General Committee of Public Instruction also clarified its position with regard to the vernaculars by declaring that to promote them was one of its chief aims We shall see presently how far this declaration was in keeping with the actual practice.

The Anglicist Policy at Work

The noisy Orientalists having resigned from the General Committee of Public Instruction, its work of anglicising Indian education became comparatively smooth It began its work by announcing its future educational policy While

[11] Letter 1 in *The Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II, p 284

its immediate and primary aim was to be the diffusion of Western knowledge through the medium of English, "the formation of vernacular literature" was "to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed." But because of "the almost total absence of a vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only", it was necessary that the best natives must first "be placed in possession of our knowledge", through the medium of English, "before they can transfer it into their own language"

Thus the General Committee offered to do little for the promotion of the vernacular languages beyond expressing a pious hope that the Indians who received English education would automatically try to enrich them with their knowledge—a hope that has been falsified by the later course of events.

The General Committee began its programme of promoting English education by stopping, in 1835, the publication of Oriental works, and by starting at Fort William and Agra, schools for the teaching of English literature and science through the medium of the English language. Under the leadership of its uncompromising President, who was none other than Macaulay himself, the General Committee made rapid progress in its anglicising mission. At the beginning of 1835 it had only 14 institutions under its control; but by the end of 1837 it was conducting, at a monthly expense of about Rs 25,439/-, no fewer than 48 institutions with altogether 5,196 pupils, of whom 3,729 studied in Anglo-vernacular schools or colleges.[12] The Committee was undaunted by the exhaustion of its funds in the hope of saving money by the lapse of stipends to Oriental scholars or raising it by levying fees in its schools The establishment of a new Medical College at Calcutta in

[12] H R James *Education and Statesmanship in India,* p. 36

the demand for instruction in Persian The latter measure increased the demand for vernacular education.

The vernacular languages began to be taught in the General Committee's English schools, but they occupied a secondary place and were taught by low paid teachers of doubtful efficiency That the General Committee did not really want the vernacular languages to develop is proved by the fact that when the Farrukhabad School tried to teach science through the medium of the vernacular, the Committee wrote as follows: "The Headmaster and your Committee seem to regard the vernacular language as the means most appropriate at present for imparting knowledge in European science in your institution. The General Committee dissents from these views which are, indeed, opposed to the principles adopted by the Government in 1835, after mature deliberation and much discussion It would be glad to find your valuable exertions, and those of the Headmaster, directed principally to raising the standard of proficiency in English literature and science taught by the means of that language. This is the plan elsewhere pursued with increasing success"[14] The rejection by the General Committee of Adam's main recommendation that the vernacular indigenous schools, however inefficient by modern standards, should be improved and made the basis of a scheme of popular education is a further proof, if any more proof is required, of the lack of seriousness on the part of the General Committee in the matter of developing the vernacular languages We quote here what it said.

"A further experience and a more mature consideration of the subject of education in this country has led us to adhere to the opinion formerly expressed by us, that our efforts should be at first concentrated on the improvement of education among the higher and middling classes

[14] G C.P I. Report, 1837, pp.44-45.

of the population in the expectation that, through the very agency of these scholars, an educational reform will descend to the rural vernacular schools and its benefits be rapidly transfused among all those excluded in the first instance by abject want from a participation in its advantages."[15]

Lord Auckland's Minute of 1839

In November, 1839, Lord Auckland handled the educational controversies in a very clever manner. He was able to pacify the Orientalists without sacrificing the essential principles of Lord Bentinck's Resolution His keen eye diagnosed the real cause of the trouble He said in his Minute "The insufficiency of the funds assigned by the State for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and if the funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all."

He calculated that if some of the important privileges were restored to the Oriental colleges, it would cost the General Committee an additional sum of about Rs. 25,000/- a year, He, therefore, sanctioned this amount in the hope that "the Hon'ble Court will approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense" The Orientalists who, after their defeat, now only demanded the retention of existing institutions of Oriental learning and some money for the publication of important classical works, were satisfied The Anglicists were also satisfied because they had now more funds than

[15] *Selections from Educational Records*, Part II, p 65

previously at their disposal for their programme and also because their policy was reaffirmed by the Governor-General who said, "One mode which has been ably contended for is that of engrafting European knowledge on the studies of the existing learned classes, of Moulvees and Pandits of India. I confess that from such means I anticipate very partial and imperfect results."

"I would, in the strictest good faith, and to the fullest extent, make good the promise of upholding, while the people resort to them, our established institutions of Oriental learning. I would make these institutions share with others in any general advantages or encouragements which, we are satisfied, ought to be afforded with a view to the promotion of due efficiency in study." After this assurance which was meant to pacify the noisy Orientalists he added, "I would then make it my principal aim to communicate through the means of the English language, a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy, and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands and for whose instruction our funds will admit of providing. All our experience proves that, by such a method, a real and powerful stimulus is given to the native mind. We have seen that in Bombay, as at Calcutta, from the time at which arrangements have been made for the higher branches of instruction in English, the understandings of the students have been thoroughly interested and roused, and that the consequences have wonderfully, to use the words of the Calcutta Committee of Public Instruction, 'surpassed expectation'."[16]

As for the vernacular medium for which Hodgson and others had been agitating, he thought that "the measure could not be named as one for very early adoption, with no class books prepared or teachers versed in those books

[16] *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, pp. 155 following

yet trained for their duties. And as the contrary system has been actually established, it is right that, unless urgent reasons for abandoning that system demand attention, it should be fully tried, with the improvements of which it may fairly be susceptible." Before reaching a final decision on this point, he urged that the two experiments of teaching through the medium of English in Bengal and of teaching mainly through the medium of the vernacular in Bombay should be carefully watched As far as Bengal was concerned, he felt, that the English medium was quite suitable. "Native youths will not come to our schools to be instructed in vernacular composition This qualification is more quickly and easily to be attained from other sources."

In the following words, he also rejected Adam's recommendation for encouraging vernacular education by improving indigenous schools and teachers·

"It is impossible to read his valuable and intelligent report, without being painfully impressed with the low state of instruction as it exists among immense masses of the Indian people .. The inference irresistibly presents itself that among these is not the field in which our efforts can at present be most successfully employed The small stock of knowledge which can now be given in elementary schools will of itself do little for the advancement of a people The first step must be to diffuse wider information and better sentiments amongst the upper and middle classes.. "

Thus Lord Auckland's Minute is a diplomatic compromise, conceding nothing to the Vernacularists, very little to the Orientalists, and reaffirming the policy of the Anglicists

The Court of Directors in their Despatch of January 20, 1841 approved of Lord Auckland's suggestions and recommendations, adding, however, "We forbear at present from

expressing an opinion regarding the most efficient mode of communicating and disseminating European knowledge Experience, indeed, does not yet warrant the adoption of any exclusive system We wish a fair trial to be given to the experiment of engrafting European knowledge on the studies of the existing learned classes, encouraged as it will be by giving to the Seminaries in which these studies are prosecuted, the aid of able and efficient European superintendence At the same time we authorise you to give all suitable encouragement to translation of European works into the vernacular languages, and also to provide for the compilation of a proper series of vernacular class-books according to the plan which Lord Auckland has proposed"

Many European writers on Indian education attach too much value to these statements in order to present the British educational policy in as fair a light as possible. But we, who wish to judge it by the actual measures taken for the improvement of the country, are disappointed In spite of the statement of the Court of Directors, the policy of engrafting European knowledge on Oriental learning was not at the time being given a fair chance Lord Bentinck almost killed the latter, while Lord Auckland only allowed it to linger on in a half dead state. As for the encouragement of vernacular translations of English works or preparation of vernacular text-books, how could that be done? There was little demand for them because all teaching was done through the medium of English And if there was no demand for them, there could naturally be no adequate supply

Another cause that gave an impetus to English education was the gradually increasing use of English as the language of public business. This had been contemplated in 1829, the very first year of Bentinck's administration In a communication to the General Committee of Public Ins-

truction the Governor-General declared the "admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of business throughout the country."

LORD HARDINGE'S RESOLUTION OF 1844 GIVES A FURTHER IMPETUS TO ENGLISH EDUCATION

In 1842 the General Committee of Public Instruction was replaced by a Council of Education but little encouragement to Oriental seminaries or Vernacular education resulted. In 1844, Lord Hardinge issued his famous Resolution both in order to encourage education in general and to secure for the State the services of educated men. The Resolution declared that "in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment...... ...Even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government........a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot."

The Council of Education was charged with the duty of preparing a list of suitable candidates for Government employment from among the best students of various institutions. With this purpose it started a competitive examination which virtually gave, as the Court of Directors themselves pointed out, a monopoly of public patronage to the students of Government colleges. In this way Lord Hardinge's Resolution gave a further impetus to English education.

Although the actual words in Hardinge's Resolution do not indicate clearly that men with English education were to be preferred for Government employment, the effect was

nevertheless the same. H. R. James in his *Education and Statesmanship in India* says, "On the 10th of October in that year (i.e 1844) appeared Lord Hardinge's Resolution definitely enjoining the selection for Government services of candidates who had received an English education"[17] The immediate effect of this Resolution does not appear to have been great, its ultimate influence has been scarcely less than that of the adoption of English education, for it has given English education its value in terms of livelihood. But this was only a formal declaration of policy because even before this Resolution, people with English education were preferred for almost all types of Government posts.

Critical Observations

From the account given above, it must have been clear even to a casual reader that there were three chief factors that contributed to the promotion of English education during the period under review—Lord William Bentinck's Resolution of 1835, the Government Policy of requiring a knowledge of English as a condition of employment, and the increasing adoption of English as the language of public business. The parts played in this respect by popular demand and mission schools were not at all inconsiderable.

The Anglicist policy of the Bengal Government almost strangled Oriental learning to death and made it impossible, to all intents and purposes, for the vernacular languages, to develop Bentinck's Resolution of 1835 unmistakably said, "All the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone." It made no qualification whatsoever about the vernacular languages. Indeed, as early as 1829, Lord Bentinck had

[17] p 36.

contemplated substituting English for Persian as the language of the law courts. So it was most probably deliberate on his part. Anxiety for the development of a vernacular literature was, however, several times expressed, yet the chief measure of making English the medium of instruction in all Government schools struck at the very root of such a development. When the vernacular became the court language, public interest in the subject was certainly stimulated to some extent. But the vernacular occupied an unimportant place in Anglo-vernacular schools, being generally taught by low paid, inefficient teachers. Again, the general preference given to English knowing persons for all kinds of jobs, both public and private, further discouraged the study of the vernacular languages. The hope expressed by the Anglicists (we have grave doubts about their sincerity in this respect) that English education would automatically contribute to the enrichment of the vernacular languages was doomed to disappointment. Indeed, in actual practice an Indian's proficiency in the vernacular has generally varied in inverse proportion to his proficiency in English Lord Curzon, seventy years later, bore testimony to the damage done to the vernacular languages which, he said, had shrivelled and pined ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric had blown over them.

We have already discussed some of the political and administrative reasons that led the British to promote English education in India One of the main objects of making English the medium of instruction and the English language the main subject of study in schools, as K. M Pannikar rightly says, was "to undermine gradually, and if possible to subvert eventually, the religions and civilisation of India"[18] There was certainly a great demand for instruction in English during the

[18] *Essays on Educational Reconstruction*, p 57

second and third decades of the 19th century. But the people in general wanted a knowledge of English much more as a means of livelihood than as a means of enlightenment The British encouraged, exaggerated, and took advantage of this popular demand for their own imperialistic ends.

A knowledge of Western science and literature was certainly needed for the advancement of India. Neither the Orientalists nor the Vernacularists were against the light from the West. But this Western knowledge should have appeared in an intelligible and familiar garb. The right solution of the problem of conveying this knowledge was not to make the English language the medium of all instruction. English should have been given a secondary place and taught as an optional subject. Those who became really proficient in it would naturally have gone to original works in English and translated them into the vernacular languages, because there would have been then a great demand for such translations But the English medium made translation work unnecessary. No arguments are needed now in the 20th century to show the importance of the vernacular medium for the real progress of a country. The introduction of the foreign medium has been the most unfortunate in its devastating effect on the intellectual development of Indian students. The success achieved by a few has been in spite of the foreign medium, and certainly not because of it.

Another mistake that the British administrators made was to begin at the wrong end. The higher and middle classes (with wealth and leisure) whom they first proposed to educate through the medium of English, should have been left to their own resources. They were able to procure for their children whatever education they liked The Calcutta Vidyalaya was the result of private initiative Indeed, in every country higher education is left mainly

to private effort and the State first tries to provide a minimum education for all. The Government should, therefore, have concentrated on the education of the poor, helpless people through their own languages. The existing indigenous schools, as was recommended by Adam, should have been improved and developed and a sound system of national education should have been based on that foundation. But nothing was done in this respect because of the Government's faith in the "Downward Filtration Theory" The inadequacy of funds of which they complained should have led them to pay greater attention to the things that were more important.

In short, the period under review was a period of great controversies when several educational forces were pulling in different directions instead of working harmoniously together for the good of the country It was most unfortunate that the Anglicist force, with the weight of the Government thrown on its side, pushed the entire educational current into a wrong channel from which we have not yet been able to extricate it even after a hundred years of constant effort.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

THE first English schools in the country were started by the Company Chaplains for the education of European and Eurasian children. Towards the close of the 18th century, the Resident of Tanjore, Mr Sullivan, was responsible for the establishment of three English schools at Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivagunga for better understanding between the English and the Indians In spite of the Orientalist policy of the Government during the first quarter of the 19th century, English gained in popularity for various reasons already mentioned. In order to satisfy this popular demand for English, many private schools sprang up in Calcutta and its vicinity. These schools were run by retired or disabled English soldiers

After the Charter Act of 1833, educational activities of the missionaries intensified German and American missionary societies also entered the field and established their centres in many parts of India

The success of the Calcutta Vidyalaya and the general belief among the missionaries that English education would automatically lead to people's conversion were responsible for the foundation of a large number of mission schools and colleges where instruction in English was given. Alexander Duff, who arrived in India about the year 1830, gave a fresh impetus to English education in missionary institutions. In his own college at Calcutta instruction in the Christian religion occupied the forefront of the educational programme He openly regarded English education as the hand-maid of the Christian religion and his advocacy of

the former and condemnation of Oriental and Vernacular education took an almost militant form.

The Serampore missionaries had already established a college which was raised in 1827 to the status of a University by the king of Denmark In Bombay, Dr. John founded a college which bore his name The General Assembly's School was established in 1837 in Madras. In 1844 a Mission College was established in Nagpur, and in 1853 the Church Missionary Society founded St. John's College at Agra. Several other colleges like Bishop's College at Calcutta and Noble College (after Robert Noble) at Masulipatam were started during this period It should be borne in mind that there was no clear line of demarcation between a college and a secondary school Indeed, one high school in Madras was known as a "University"

Some idea of the intense missionary activities, during this period, can be formed from the fact that in 1852 there were in Madras Presidency alone no fewer than 1,185 mission schools with a total strength of 38,005 pupils. So the contribution of the missionary institutions to the promotion of English education was very considerable, indeed. This period has been called by Richter, "the age of the mission schools".[1]

It is to these early efforts in the sphere of English education that the origin of modern secondary schools should be traced

After the Anglicist triumph over the Orientalists, the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal began to spend all the money set aside for education on the promotion of a knowledge of Western literature and science through the medium of English. The influence and example of Bengal changed the whole course of educational development in Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces, where education through vernaculars had been

[1] *A History of Missions in India*, p. 183.

favoured, and English schools began to spring up in these centres in ever increasing numbers. By the year of Wood's Despatch, the number of Government secondary schools had also risen to 169 with 18,335 pupils reading in them.

Wood's Despatch, 1854

The provisions of Wood's Despatch gave a further stimulus to the rapid growth of the secondary schools where English was taught "The diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short of European knowledge," having become the avowed aim of Indian education, this aim could be obviously promoted by the expansion of the existing type of English schools. These schools alone could fulfil the desire of the Directors "of extending far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge of a less high order, but of such a character, as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life" Although the English language and the vernacular languages of India were both to be cultivated together and used "as media for the diffusion of European knowledge", yet the unabated popularity of English, because of the premium that the Government policy of employment put on a knowledge of English, led to the neglect of the vernacular languages.

The Creation of Education Departments

"To place the superintendence and direction of education upon a more systematic footing" an education department in each Presidency and Lieutenant Governorship was to be created under an able officer who was to be responsible to the Government for the conduct of education in the area under his control. "A sufficient number of qualified inspectors" was also to be appointed to prepare perio-

dical reports, to assist or conduct the examination of scholars and advise managers and schoolmasters. The Directors of the Company hoped that the plan would "impart to the educational efforts of our different Presidencies a greater degree of uniformity and method than at present exists"

These education departments encouraged the rapid multiplication of secondary schools where English was not only taught as a subject in lower classes but also used as a medium of instruction in higher classes. As we have already seen, they did not adequately promote the elementary education of the people through the medium of the vernacular

The system of grants-in-aid recommended by Wood's Despatch also benefited secondary schools most We have already discussed the reasons why the primary schools could not take advantage of the system of grants-in-aid introduced by Wood's Despatch. But people desirous of English education were comparatively rich. They were able not only to pay fees but also to raise decent sums of money for the establishment of English institutions They therefore welcomed the system of grants-in-aid and started numerous schools all over the country Indians also came forward to promote the cause of education. About the year 1854, private enterprise was generally taken to mean missionary enterprise. But by 1881-82 the number of secondary schools run by Indian managers rose to 1,341 while all other non-government agencies together ran only 735 secondary schools The grants-in-aid to all these institutions amounted only Rs 6,23,714 in all. The number of Government secondary schools also rose from 169 with 18,335 pupils in 1854 to 1,363 with 44,605 pupils in 1882

Grants-in-aid were given to institutions on the recommendations of Government inspectors and these "naturally

carried out the Government's policy of favouring English and discouraging the vernacular."[2]

The endorsement by Wood's Despatch of Lord Hardinge's Resolution of 1844 also indirectly stimulated the growth of English secondary schools. The Directors expressed their satisfaction with the good results of the Resolution and desired "that, where the qualifications of the candidates for appointment under Government are equal, a person who has received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired, should be preferred to one who has not, and that even in lower situations a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot" They also approved "of the institution of examinations, where practicable, to be simply and entirely tests of fitness of candidates for the special duties of the various departments in which they were seeking employment." Although the words of the Despatch do not say explicitly that students coming out of English secondary schools should be given preference, yet the effect was so Most of the government departments carried on their work in English, and so people with a knowledge of English were naturally preferred.

The policy of the Universities which had come into existence as a result of the recommendations of Wood's Despatch also helped the growth of English education in the country "The Senate of the Calcutta University which had in 1858 allowed its Matriculation candidates to answer questions in geography, history and mathematics in any living language, passed a rule in 1861-2 that all papers should be answered in English unless otherwise specified. This had an immediate effect on the High Schools—though they were still in theory free to teach in English or in the vernacular—and through the High Schools even on the 'Middle English' and 'Middle Vernacular' schools they all become

[2] T N. Siquera *The Education of India*, p 63.

'Englished' as steps leading to the inevitable university course."[3]

While these factors in actual practice led to the rapid multiplication of English secondary schools, the Despatch of 1854 really wanted European knowledge of a less high order to be promoted among the people at large through the medium of the vernacular, while a few should be instructed in higher branches of European knowledge through the medium of English. Besides English secondary schools, therefore, vernacular middle schools also came into existence But the latter came to be regarded as inferior, because they did not teach English.

Thus the fundamental defect in Wood's Despatch was the wrong aim of education. It was not to be a synthesis of the best things that both the East and the West had to offer, but only "European knowledge" "The systems of science and philosophy which form the learning of the East abound with grave errors," and so the Directors reached the conclusion. "Asiatic learning, therefore, however widely diffused, would but little advance our object". And certainly, Oriental learning would not have facilitated the production of English knowing clerks or the economic exploitation of the country or its cultural conquest When the very aim was defective, the system of Secondary Education to achieve that aim could not possibly be healthy for the country.

The Despatch of 1859

The developments mentioned above were possible simply because, after the government of India had passed into the hands of the Crown as an immediate result of the Mutiny of 1857, the educational policy, as announced in the Despatch of 1859 by the Secretary of State for India,

[3] T. N Siquena *The Education of India*, p. 63

remained essentially the same. It also revealed, by the way, that the increased expenditure on education was not directly incurred on the instruction of the people, but that an inordinate share was swallowed up by the newly created departments of education. The Government expenditure on education in 1856-57 amounted to £233,890 while that on the education departments more than £53,890. The Secretary of State for India, therefore, said that the education departments should bear a fair proportion of the actual expenditure on the direct measures of instruction.

As a result of this Despatch, the Government hold on educational institutions increased. The duties of the education departments were to be considerably enlarged. They were to superintend not only Government institutions but also "to exercise a close scrutiny into all the agencies in operation throughout the country for the instruction of the people; to point out deficiencies where they exist; to suggest remedies to Government and bring the advantages of education to the notice of the various classes of the community, to act as the channel of communication on the subject between Government and the community at large, and generally to stimulate and promote, under the prescribed rules, all measures having for their object the secular education of the people." The education departments had been full of Government civil or military officials who used their misguided zeal for the promotion of English education. The Secretary of State, therefore, stated, "Her Majesty's Government are, on the whole of opinion that, as a general rule, all appointments in the Departments of Education should be filled by individuals unconnected with the service of Government, either civil or military."

Thus in effect the Educational Despatch of 1859 did little to check the unhealthy trends of English education, but only accentuated them, Shri M. R. Paranjpe in his Introduction to *A Source Book of Indian Education* calls this

Despatch "a tame document, its purpose being mainly to review the condition of education in British India after the disturbances of 1857 were suppressed and normal conditions were nearly restored."

The Indian Education Commission of 1882

Circumstances leading to the appointment of the Commission

Wood's famous Despatch proposed the system of grants-in-aid and the policy of entrusting gradually the management of even government institutions to private bodies. Now the missionaries who were the most important non-government agency of education in the country thought that these measures would enable them to control Indian education entirely But the Government of India continued their policy of religious neutrality and the officers of the education departments in all provinces were indifferent to religious matters and did not take into consideration religious instruction for the purpose of recommending any grant-in-aid. Indeed, as a result of the Mutiny, the Government attitude towards the missionaries stiffened On the occasion of the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown, the Church Missionary Society presented a memorial to Queen Victoria in 1858, requesting her "to have it declared to the public authorities in the East Indies .. that the adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth, will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation .. .. that the Bible will be introduced into the system of education in all the Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and

the source of those Christian principles upon which Your Majesty's Government is to be conducted."[4] But the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 reaffirmed the policy of religious neutrality to the disappointment of the missionaries.

Richter, in his *History of Missions in India*, complains how the Government preferred to appoint as inspectors of schools, "no doubt, out of exaggerated religious neutrality, . . . English men indifferent to religion or non-Christian Brahmans." He goes on, "As the yearly grants, the hinge on which the new system turned, depended on the result of the annual visitations and examinations conducted by these gentlemen, it came about that mission schools, for instance, were often in a state of very undesirable dependence on the good will or the good temper of officials who were antagonistic to missions. How much caprice and party spirit it was possible to exercise in the conducting of examinations, the inspection of school buildings and the criticism of the school staff! How much vexation and worry were thereby set in motion!"[5] Disgusted with this Government attitude the Basel Missionary Society in 1860 severed its connection with the Government system and reorganised its schools along its own lines But its schools did not succeed because of Government competition. "First of all, the English school at Cannanore had to be given up because the Government had erected a similar one in the same place (1861) . . . The English school at Calicut was simply crushed out of existence, owing to an elaborate school plan set down by the Government in the immediate neighbourhood. In the native schools such thorough-going reforms were insisted upon that of 1,450 scholars in 1862, only 648 remained in 1866 . . . Thus an educational scheme apart from that of

[4] Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 207-8
[5] ibid, p 308

the Government proved an impossibility, against such rivalry it was unable to hold its own."[6]

As a result of these difficulties, the missionaries, both in England and in India, started an agitation against the educational policy of the Government of India, which they declared to be contrary to the recommendations of Wood's Despatch. It was mainly as a result of this agitation that the Indian Education Commission of 1882 was appointed. It consisted of the representatives of Government, missionaries and Indians and was presided over by Sir W. W. Hunter.

There were thus certain limitations of the field of inquiry, as H. R. James has pointed out. "The general working of the Indian Universities was one of the subjects so excepted. The exception did not, however, extend to University education as carried on in the colleges."[7]

Secondary Education

Secondary schools were to include both high and middle schools, but "a separate table, showing the stage of instruction, whether primary, middle or upper, of pupils in all schools of Primary and Secondary Education" was to be maintained. Probably the most important recommendation was about the bifurcation of students at the high school stage. The Commission noted that the attention of students was "too exclusively directed to University studies" and that there was a real need in India of some "course which shall fit boys for industrial or commercial pursuits, at the age when they commonly matriculate, more directly than is effected by the present system." The university looked upon "the Entrance Examination, not as a test of fitness for the duties of life, but rather as a means of ascertaining whether the candidate

[6] Richter. *A History of Missions in India*, pp. 312-13.
[7] *Education and Statesmanship in India*, p. 71.

has acquired that amount of general information and that degree of mental discipline which will enable him to profit by a course of liberal and professional instruction" They, therefore, recommended "that in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions, one leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits" The effectiveness of this very good recommendation was considerably lessened by the additional recommendation that "the certificate of having passed by the final standard, or, if necessary, by any lower standard, of either of the proposed alternative courses, be accepted as a sufficient general test of the fitness for the public service." When the University Entrance examination could serve both the purposes of public employment and of higher studies, it naturally became more popular than the second alternative which qualified people only for jobs.

A small annual grant was recommended "for the formation and maintenance of libraries in all high schools," and there was to be a provision for renewal and increase of "furniture and apparatus of instruction after stated intervals"

"The claims of efficient and successful teachers in aided schools" were to "be considered in making appointments to posts in the service of government" Graduates should be allowed "to undergo a shorter course of training than others", and success in an examination in the principles and practice of teaching "should hereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided"

"In order to encourage the establishment of aided schools", the managers were "not required to charge fees as high as those of a neighbouring Government school of the same class." The scale of fees and the proportion of students to be exempted from their payment were to be

determined by "the Director of Public Instruction in consultation with the managers of schools receiving aid from Government" Ordinary fees were to be paid by scholarship holders, and as suggested by Wood's Despatch of 1854, the system of scholarships was to "form connecting links between the different grades of institutions" Scholarships from public funds were to be awarded as a result of "public competition, without restriction, except in special cases, to students from any particular class of schools". These scholarships gained in open competition were "tenable, under proper safeguards to ensure the progress of the scholarship-holder, at any approved institution for general or special instruction" The Governments of Bombay and Madras were asked to bring their system of scholarships into harmony with the recommendations made above.

Departmental examinations were to be conducted by teachers and the officers of the Department and to secure their efficiency the examiners were to be "remunerated from the fees levied from candidates, increased, when necessary, by a grant from Government."

The inspecting officers of the Department were to see specially "that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct and the character of pupils." The Commission stated that Primary Education was to be regarded as more important by the Government than Secondary Education. Primary Education was to be "provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation", "while it is ordinarily expedient," said the Commission, "to provide the means of Secondary Education only where adequate local co-operation is forth-coming" "Secondary schools for instruction in English" were to be "hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid."

With regard to the medium of instruction in secondary schools, the Commission[8] did not choose to "put forward any definite recommendation on this subject," because "it is a question in the decision of which much must depend on local circumstances, and hence the freest scope in dealing with it should be left to the managers of schools, whatever be the view which the Department in any Province may be disposed to adopt." But they said that even for a boy educated in vernacular middle schools, a knowledge of English would be a great asset. "To a boy so educated even an elementary knowledge of English is of unquestionable value, not only by reason of the mental training which its acquisition has involved, but also in regard to his business or other relations with the outer world." Thus in effect instead of suggesting the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction in high schools, it seems to suggest that even in vernacular middle schools, English should be taught.

The Attitude of the Commission to the Missionary Enterprise

The Commission recommended "that the system of grants-in-aid be based as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted, provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution."

We have seen that missionary agitation was, to a

[8] See the Report, pp. 210-11

large extent, responsible for the appointment of the Indian Education Commission of 1882 The Commission did recommend the withdrawal of state control of Secondary and higher education in favour of private bodies, but they explicitly said, "In a country with such varied needs as India, we should deprecate any measure which would throw excessive influence over higher education into the hands of any agency which, however benevolent and earnest, cannot on all points be in sympathy with the mass of the community. .. We think it well to put on record our unanimous opinion that withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favour of missionary bodies and that departmental institutions of the higher order should not be transferred to missionary management." Such a transfer, the Commission argued, was not likely to foster in the people of India "those habits of self-reliance and combination of purposes of public utility which it is one of the objects of the grant-in-aid system to develop" They, therefore, concluded. "Natives of India must constitute the most important of all agencies, if educational means are ever to be co-extensive with educational wants"

THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

The Commission also made several recommendations in connection with the internal administration and the external relations of the education departments. They are not very important from the point of view of the development of Indian education. While the "native and other local agency" was "to foster and manage all education as far as possible," "the results must be tested by Departmental agency". A general educational library and museum were to be formed at some suitable locality in each province and "school papers or magazines conducted in the verna-

cular" were to be encouraged. The Text-book Committees of different provinces were to consult one another about satisfactory text-books in English and the vernacular. But care was to "be taken lest public examinations become the means of practically imposing the same text-books or curriculum on all schools."

Transfer of Department Schools to Private Bodies

If the Department transferred the management of any school or class of schools to a Local or Municipal Board, the functions of the latter were to "include (a) the appointment of teachers qualified under the rules of the Department, (b) the selection of the standard and course of instruction subject to the control of the Department, and (c) the determination of rates of fees and of the proportion of free-students, subject to the general rules in force." The transfer of secondary schools to Municipalities or Local Boards or through them to private associations was to take place only under "adequate guarantee of permanence and efficiency." "In order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institutions for collegiate or secondary instruction, aid at specially liberal rates" should be offered, and provision should also be "made for the legal transfer to the new managers of all educational endowments, buildings and other property belonging to such institutions in the hands of Government." From the point of view of the withdrawal of Government control, colleges could be divided into three classes. Those colleges "on which the higher education of the country mainly" depended were not to be transferred because it was "premature for Government to consider the propriety of withdrawal." There were others which "might be transferred with advantage,

as a measure promising useful political results, to bodies of native gentlemen," provided satisfactory guarantees were given that they would be maintained "(1) permanently, (2) in full efficiency, (3) in such a way as to make them adequate for all the wants of the locality." But the colleges in which the cost was out of all proportion to the utility were to be transferred "with less stringent guarantees for permanent efficiency" or to be "closed, if, after due notice, no local body" came forward to accept the responsibility for running them.

Critical Observations

The Commission realised the most important defect of Secondary Education when they said that the attention of the secondary school students had been "too exclusively directed to university studies" and recommended the bifurcation of the courses of study at the high school stage, one branch leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities and the other intended to fit [illegible] for commercial or other non-literary pursuits. But this suggestion, however good in itself theoretically, was bound to fail because the Matriculation examination could serve both the purposes of qualifying students for [illegible] and for public service The Government did little to implement this recommendation even in their own schools, while private, including missionary, institutions were unable to meet the expenditure involved in the provision of modern equipment and the employment of expert teachers. Moreover, the educated classes still adhered to the traditional view that literary studies were on a higher plane than any sort of practical training. Things were allowed to drift. As a consequence "ninety-five per cent of the boys," the *Quinquennial Review* of [illegible] [illegible] "who pass through secondary schools follow the [illegible]

prescribed by the University for the Matriculation Examination"

In order to stimulate private effort, the Commission recommended that the aided institutions (in consultation with the Directors of Public Instruction, if necessary,) could charge lower fees than those levied in neighbouring Government institutions of the same kind. This led, as H. R. James pointed out, to "the multiplication of schools and colleges insufficiently staffed, miserably equipped, utterly unfit to give useful education"[9] Indeed, where the Directors of Public Instruction did not agree to the scales of fees recommended by the managers of aided institutions, the managers "resigned the grants in order to be able to reduce the fees"[10]

The Commission's recommendation to leave the expansion of Secondary and Higher Education on the basis of grant-in-aid was unfortunate in result. J.R. Cunningham has pointed out "that even the State schools were not good schools, that the aided schools, as a class, were not so good as the State schools, and that the unaided schools were bad schools."[11]

The policy culminated in the declaration, a few years later, by Lord Dufferin (1888) that the Government's duty in the matter of education was that of pioneers and now that the Government had shown the way, they should retire and leave the field to private effort

Secondary Education was really suffering from want of means and want of proper supervision and control And permission to aided institutions to charge lower fees was calculated to intensify the defects rather than remedy them.

[9] *Education and Statesmanship in India*, pp. 53-4
[10] *The Quinquennial Review*, 1887-92.
[11] *Modern India and the West* (edited by L S.S O'Malley), p 162.

Rapid Expansion of Secondary Education (1882-1902)

In spite of the great emphasis that the Indian Education Commission of 1882 laid on Primary Education, secondary schools and their scholars continued to increase at a much faster rate than primary schools and their scholars. From 3,916 secondary schools with 2,14,077 scholars in 1881-82, the number rose to 5,124 secondary schools with 5,90,129 scholars in 1901-02. The number of candidates appearing at the Matriculation Examination of the different universities in each successive year during the period also tells the same tale In 1882 there were 7,429 candidates for the Matriculation Examination in the four Universities, 13,093 in 1885-6, 19,138 in 1889, and 24,963 in 1906 It we take Bengal alone, which led the way in University Education, it had 2,144 candidates for the Matriculation Examination in 1872; 3,000 in 1882, 4,317 in 1885, 6,134 in 1888, and 6,307 in 1900.[12]

In keeping with the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission of 1882 for a more practical course of study at the high school stage, the three older Universities together with those of the Punjab (established in 1882) and Allahabad (established in 1887) introduced the School Leaving Certificate Examinations which, however, did not become popular except in Bombay where only this examination qualified candidates for Government employment. The Matriculation Examination of the Universities continued to dominate the field of Secondary Education because it at once qualified candidates both for Government employment and for higher education at a college It was found that while 23,000 candidates appeared at the Matriculation Examinations of the different universities in 1901-2, the alternative courses could attract only 2,000 candidates

[12] T N Siqueira *The Education of India*, p 83.

The rapid expansion of Secondary and Collegiate Education, where English was the medium of instruction, was responsible for the continued dominance of English and also for preventing the modern Indian languages from coming into their own. Indeed, as the *Quinquennial Review* of 1902-7 also realized, the teaching of English became the prime object of the secondary school course.

Critical Observations

Because of the undirected expansion of secondary schools, Secondary Education developed serious defects of different kinds.

From the very beginning the English medium was a great handicap to the students who could not do real justice to their attainments in public examinations. Only 111 out of a total of 464 candidates that appeared at the Calcutta University Matriculation Examination in 1858 were declared successful. The same year only two out of thirteen passed the examination of the Bachelor of Arts of the Calcutta University. Thus the English medium claimed among its first victims no fewer than about 76% of the candidates for the Matriculation Examination and 85% of the candidates for the Bachelor of Arts Examination. Because of these poor results the standards of the examinations were lowered in order "to pass every student of ordinary ability who has fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has passed through." And this practice has continued ever since. The right solution was to improve the method of teaching, and not to lower the standards of examinations

Pupils in secondary schools began their study of English as early as the third class, even before they had acquired any adequate command of the mother-tongue, and almost as soon as they had a smattering of this difficult foreign

language, they had to study almost all other subjects through its medium. Thus in effect, as I have already mentioned, the aim of Secondary Education became not so much Western knowledge through the medium of English as a little knowledge of the English language itself. Even this limited aim was not achieved by many as is clear from the frequent complaints of the principals of colleges where the students were unable to follow lectures in English. This is the origin of the deplorable practice of mutual recrimination—the colleges blaming the high schools, the high schools blaming the middle schools and the middle schools blaming the primary schools for the general weakness of the pupils sent by them.

Now arises a very important question which must be answered. Why were matters not improved when in the last quarter of the 19th century most of the secondary schools were managed by Indians themselves? But it should be remembered that the schools had to receive grants-in-aid from the Government which they could not do without carrying out the general educational policy of the education departments. Secondly, they had to keep in mind the requirements of the Matriculation Examinations of the various universities which taught through the medium of English. Thirdly, even in the institutions managed by Indians, European heads were generally appointed because the aim was the spread of "European knowledge and science" English was regarded as very important and it was generally believed that only those whose mother-tongue was English could teach it properly These European headmasters, principals and teachers of English, with their ideals different from our own, could not possibly advance the cause of private Indian enterprise in the field of education Their high salaries, by the way, raised the cost of Indian education well above the means of an average Indian

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In all the secondary schools the study of the modern Indian languages was neglected The teaching of those languages was generally entrusted to low paid, inefficient teachers who could not bring any enthusiasm to their work. Even till very recently the teachers of modern Indian languages received much lower salaries than those of English and other subjects. Thus neither the teachers nor the students ever gave to the vernaculars the attention that they deserved

The secondary school course became too literary and bookish and came to be regarded only as a step leading to the University. The attempts to give it a vocational bias, such as the bifurcation of studies at the High school stage recommended by the Indian Education Commission of 1882, did not succeed for various reasons. The Government schools did not take the suggestion very seriously, while private schools could not provide the equipment needed for vocational courses. For reasons already discussed, the vocational bias was not popular in Universities where an alternative School Leaving Certificate Examination was instituted

The secondary school has been regarded as "Britain's most distinctive contribution to modern Indian education!"[18] That it has not been an unmixed blessing I have amply shown. A knowledge of Western science and literature has certainly done immense good to India by creating a political consciousness I do not mean to deny all this. My only complaint is that this new knowledge was presented through a medium that only a few could understand, and that whatever good there was in our cultural heritage was, to a great extent, ignored in the new system of education.

[18] H - V. Hampton, *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, No. 15, p. 19

CHAPTER XV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
(From Lord Curzon to Independence)

Lord Curzon's Reforms

The Government of India Resolution of 1904

Although Lord Curzon's name is generally associated with the reform of the Universities, he also initiated very important developments in the sphere of Secondary Education. His penetrating analysis of the defects of Higher Education is equally applicable to Secondary Education The Government of India Resolution of 1904, which embodied most of Lord Curzon's findings and suggestions, rightly pointed out that Higher Education was pursued with too exclusive a view to entering Government service, that excessive prominence was given to examinations, that the courses of study were too purely literary in character, that memory was taxed more than intelligence in schools and colleges, mechanical repetition taking the place of sound learning, and that in the pursuit of English the cultivation of the vernaculars was neglected

The Tightening of Government Control

The Government gave up its policy of securing expansion through *laissez-faire* methods and substituted for it one of control and improvement. It was the duty of the Government to see that the education provided in all schools, whether aided or unaided, was sound. Before granting recognition or giving a grant-in-aid, the Government must "satisfy itself in each case that a secondary

school is wanted; that its financial stability is assured, that its managing body, where there is one, is properly constituted, that it teaches the proper subjects up to a proper standard, that due provision has been made for the instruction, health, recreation, and discipline of the pupils; that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number and qualifications, that the fees to be paid will not involve such competition with any existing school as will be unfair and injurious to the interests of education."

RECOGNITION BY THE UNIVERSITIES

Before 1904, Universities granted recognition to those secondary schools which applied for it, without being able to exercise any control over the latter. Even when this recognition was not given, secondary schools could send their pupils to the Matriculation Examination as private candidates. In Bombay, as has been pointed out by the *Quinquennial Review*, 1902-07, the University kept no list of recognised schools but admitted anybody to the Matriculation Examination on production of a certificate of good character, or if he preferred to appear as a school candidate, with an additional certificate from the schoolmaster merely certifying the fact of his attendance at school. Lord Curzon stopped these irregularities More systematic rules for the recognition of secondary schools by Universities were framed, and only those students could appear at the Matriculation Examination who had actually been properly instructed in private

Recognition by the University enabled a secondary school to send its pupils to the Matriculation Examination, and recognition by the department of education enabled it to receive a grant-in-aid, send up pupils for Government examinations or the entrance examinations of Government technical schools, and admit pupils holding Government

scholarships. But unaided private schools which did not teach up to the Matriculation standard were likely to care neither for University recognition nor for recognition by the department of education. These too were brought within the orbit of Government control by means of a rule which forbade transfers of pupils from unrecognised schools. Thus, without recognition, a school could not hope to survive.

Practical Courses of Study

The Indian Education Commission of 1882 had recommended an alternative to the Matriculation course to meet the needs of those boys who were destined for industrial or commercial pursuits. Attempts in this direction, however, did not meet with success. As the Government Resolution of 1904 pointed out. "The purely literary course, qualifying as it does both for the University and for Government employment, continues to attract the great majority of pupils, and more practical studies are at present but little in request." The Resolution, therefore, reaffirmed the recommendation of the Indian Universities Commission (1902) that "the Entrance Examination should no longer be accepted as a qualifying test for Government service," and suggested the institution of a separate School Leaving Examination, more searching in character than the current University Entrance Examination, and such as "would not dominate the courses of study but would be adapted to them, and would form the natural culminating point of Secondary Education."

The Training of Secondary School Teachers

The need for the training of teachers had been a matter of controversy, but the Resolution of 1904 realised that "if the

school is wanted, that its financial stability is assured, that its managing body, where there is one, is properly constituted, that it teaches the proper subjects up to a proper standard, that due provision has been made for the instruction, health, recreation, and discipline of the pupils, that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number and qualifications; that the fees to be paid will not involve such competition with any existing school as will be unfair and injurious to the interests of education."

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Poor Standard of English

The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 found that "notwithstanding the prominent position given to English throughout the secondary course, the results are most discouraging." "Students after Matriculation," the Commission said, "are found to be unable to understand lectures in English when they join a college. In some cases the difficulty is said to disappear after a short time, but it appears to be the case that many students pass through the entire university course without acquiring anything approaching to a command of the language, and proceed to a degree without even learning to write a letter in English correctly and idiomatically." Among the reasons for this deplorable state of affairs were the undue pressure "brought to bear on managers of schools to promote pupils regardless of their fitness for such promotion," the enforcing of "boys to begin to learn English as a language, and also learn other subjects through

the medium of English, long before they are capable of understanding it," and the teaching of English, in the lower classes, by "ill-paid teachers who have no claim to be regarded as qualified to teach the language." The Commission, therefore, suggested that "the study of English should not be permitted to be begun till a boy can be expected to understand what he is being taught in that language, that the classes at schools should be of manageable size, and that teachers, whose mother-tongue is not English, should be passed through a training college where they may be tested in expression and elocution by an Englishman before they are given certificates to teach."

The analysis of the trouble and the recommendations of the Government of India Resolution of 1904 are almost on similar lines It recognised that "English has no place and should have no place in the scheme of Primary Education" But "the commercial value which a knowledge of English commands, and the fact that the final examinations of high schools are conducted in English cause the secondary schools to be subjected to a certain pressure to introduce prematurely both the teaching of English as a language and its use as the medium of instruction, while for the same reasons the study of vernaculars in these schools is liable to be thrust into the background" It, therefore, laid down the principle that "as a general rule, a child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until he has made some progress in the primary stages of instruction and has received a thorough grounding in his mother-tongue . . .. It should not be prematurely employed as the medium of instruction in other subjects . . . The line of division between the use of the vernacular and of English as a medium of instruction should, broadly speaking, be drawn at a minimum age of 13 No scholar in a secondary school should, even then, be allowed to abandon the study

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of his vernacular, which should be kept up until the end of the school course."

Examinations

The Government of India Resolution of 1904 directed that the inspectors of schools should act not only as judges of the results of school teaching but also as guides and advisers in teaching methods It also realised the dangers of the examinations which had grown to extravagant dimensions, and the influence of which had been allowed to dominate the whole system of education. As a consequence, instruction was confined within the rigid framework of prescribed courses, all forms of training which did not admit of being tested by written examinations were liable to be neglected, and both the teachers and the pupils alike concentrated their energies not so much upon genuine study as upon the questions likely to be set by the examiners.

Policy with regard to Government withdrawal in favour of Private Agencies

While the Resolution agreed with the existing Government policy of gradual withdrawal of its control of educational institutions in favour of private enterprise, it held that in each branch of education the Government should maintain a limited number of institutions as models for private enterprise to follow and to uphold a high standard of education and that even after such withdrawal the Government should retain a general control by means of efficient inspection over all public educational institutions.

Critical Observations

The Government of India Resolution on educational

policy issued by Lord Curzon in 1904 is a remarkable document for its penetrating analysis of the defects of the existing system of education and for the measures of reform that it suggested. But its aim was not to substitute for the existing system a better system of education more congenial to the land, but to correct the defects of the existing system in order to make it work more effectively.

While agreeing in principle with the existing policy of gradual withdrawal of Government control of educational institutions in favour of private enterprise, Lord Curzon greatly strengthened Government control over Indian education by his measures pertaining to the conditions of grants-in-aid, recognition, etc. It cannot be denied that he placed the working of the existing system of education on a better footing. There was a general improvement in buildings, in staff and in equipment of secondary schools.

Although Lord Curzon realized that because of the dominant place English occupied in Indian schools, the vernacular languages of the country had "shrivelled and pined," he did almost nothing to discourage the use of that language as a medium of instruction. Indeed, his criticism of the low standard of English in secondary schools indirectly led to more attention to it In spite of the constant efforts of three quarters of a century, in spite of the dominant position that English had occupied in secondary schools during all that period, in spite of the fact that the aim of Secondary Education had almost become a knowledge of the English language, the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 found that "the results are most discouraging". In the face of all these facts, it is surprising to find Sir Philip Hartog concluding, as late as 1935-36, in his Joseph Payne Lectures, that "the present system of Secondary Education, with all its faults, has produced men who have filled with distinction the highest official positions, as members of the Viceroy's Council and of the

provincial Executive Councils, as ministers and as judges of the High Courts—and the political leaders of the country."[1] It is more correct to conclude that if some have attained a position of distinction, it has been in spite of, and certainly not because of, the system.

From Curzon's departure to the 'Montford' Reforms (1906–1919)

Nationalist Tendencies

Curzon's attitude and manner antagonized most of the thoughtful Indians who had already become conscious of their political rights and of the inadequacy of the existing system of education to meet the needs of the country. The partition of Bengal in the teeth of the opposition of the whole province led to a country-wide agitation which developed into what has come to be known as the "Swadeshi Movement." The economic aspect of this national movement was the boycott of foreign goods and the use of Swadeshi (i.e. manufactured or made in India) things, leading to a demand for technical and industrial education in order to manufacture all the articles needed by the country Students also participated in the "Swadeshi Movement" to the intense dislike of the Government. An official circular forbidding their participation in any political meetings or activities caused further uprising among the students and a more insistent demand for a national system of education Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo Ghosh and Sir Gooroodas Banerjee led the movement Lakhs of rupees were quickly subscribed for the purpose, and a comprehensive scheme of national education, from the infant classes right up to the highest degree, was drawn up The National Council of Education was found-

[1] *Some Aspects of Indian Education*, p 47

ed and a National College was established at Calcutta with Aurobindo Ghosh as its first principal. A Technical Institute and numerous national schools were also started all over the country A few nationalist institutions like Swami Shraddhanand's Gurukul at Hardwar and Tagore's Brahmacharyashram at Shantiniketan already existed outside the state-sponsored system of education in order to give the vernacular languages and the cultural heritage of India their due place in the curriculum of studies

The Japanese victory over Russia in 1905 also stimulated Indian nationalism. Everyone thought it was the knell of European ascendency in Asia It seemed to indicate that India also could now throw off the foreign yoke, if she followed Japan's example.

But gradually the great enthusiasm subsided, the National College closed down and the national schools disappeared almost as quickly as they had sprung up. Only the Technical Institute developed into the famous Jadabpur College of Engineering and Technology, a symbol of the country's demand for technical education

SEED OF COMMUNALISM

The Indian Education Commission of 1882 recommended certain special reservations for the Muslims, providing special scholarships, special free-studentships and a proportionate representation in the services Lord Curzon's successor was also responsible for intensifying the spirit of communalism Morley-Minto Constitutional Reforms introduced the communal principle into the constitutional life of the country. It was decided to introduce separate electorates for the Muslims and thenceforth only Muslims could represent Muslims in the legislatures. This had its effect on education, too There was a demand for separate Muslim institutions with a counter demand from the

Hindus The communal principle led to the formation of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, to the establishment of the Banaras Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University, etc The Government, instead of checking or ignoring such harmful tendencies, fostered them for their own ends.

The Government of India Resolution of 1913

In keeping with Lord Curzon's policy of increasing the efficiency of secondary schools, there was an emphasis on the improvement of instruction also The Government of India Resolution of 1913 laid down their policy with regard to secondary schools. The existing Government secondary schools should be improved by

"(a) employing only graduates or trained teachers,
(b) introducing a graded service for teachers of English with a minimum salary of Rs 40/- per month and a maximum salary of Rs. 400/- per month,
(c) providing proper hostel accommodation,
(d) introducing a school course complete in itself with a staff sufficient to teach what may be called the modern side with special attention to the development of an historical and a geographical sense, and
(e) introducing manual training and improving science teaching."

The grant-in-aid was also to be largely increased to enable aided institutions to "keep pace with improvements in Government schools on the above-mentioned lines, and to encourage the establishment of new aided institutions where necessary." Existing training colleges were to be improved and new ones to be started to make trained teachers "available for public and private institutions." But Government schools were to be started only in those localities

where adequate private effort was not forthcoming "with due regard to economy of educational effort and expense"

While reaffirming Lord Curzon's policy with regard to Secondary Education, the Government of India Resolution of 1913 marks a departure in one respect. The policy of gradual withdrawal of Government control of secondary institutions in favour of private bodies, which, however, existed almost only in theory, was also given up The few existing Government institutions were not to be transferred but to be improved to serve as models for private enterprise to imitate. Indeed, the policy of withdrawal was never carried out, as is shown by the constant increase in the number of Government institutions

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS[2] (1901-22)

	1901-2	1906-7	1911-12	1916-17	1921-22
Government Institutions of all types	979	1,466	1,991	2,428	3,002

(N B The returns of certain Indian states which used to be included in the provincial statistics were omitted from 1914-15 onwards)

The Government of India Resolution of 1913 agreed with Curzon's policy of stricter control of education for greater efficiency. It summarised the Government policy in this respect as ". ...the encouragement of privately managed schools under suitable bodies maintained in efficiency by Government inspection, recognition and control, and by the aid of Government funds"

Some other important features of the Government of India Resolution of 1913, pertaining to Secondary Edu-

[2] *The Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, Vol II, p 58

cation have been well summed up by the Report of the Auxiliary Committee[3] of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1929, as follows

"(a) It advocated the teaching of hygiene, and the medical inspection of schools

(b) It urged the necessity of multiplying and improving facilities for the training of teachers for primary and secondary schools.

(c) It reported that the 'education of girls remains to be organised', and emphasized the necessity for the increase of women teachers in girls' schools.

(d) It reaffirmed the policy of mainly relying on private effort in Secondary Education with the assistance of a more elastic system of grants-in-aid, and the encouragement of varied methods of teaching and courses

(e) It endorsed the recommendation of the Universities Commission of 1902 that there should be Secondary School Final Examinations, conducted by bodies other than the Universities"

Tension Between the Universities and Government over Control of Secondary Schools

Secondary schools had to seek recognition both from the education department for grant-in-aid and from the Universities for sending their pupils to the Matriculation Examination As a result of student participation in the "Swadeshi Movement", the Government wanted stricter control of secondary schools while the Universities in some cases did not agree Shri A. N Basu in his *Education in Modern India*[4] mentions a case in which the Lieutenant Governor of a province went to the extent of

[3] Report, pp 16-17.
[4] Pp 57-58

resigning his post and leaving the country because a certain University refused to withdraw its recognition of an institution which the Lieutenant Governor disapproved of. As a consequence, the departments of education became suspicious of the Universities and found fault with their control of Secondary Education. The Resolution of 1913 suggested that the powers of preliminary recognition should be exercised not by the Universities but by the Local Governments.

Medium of Instruction

During the period under review, the problem of the medium of instruction was also discussed without any material change in the actual situation On the 7th March, 1915 Shri S. Rayaningar moved the following resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council

"That this Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to have, in consultation with the Provincial Governments and Administrations, steps taken for making the Indian vernaculars media of instruction and the study of English as second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools."

The resolution was opposed for the old familiar reasons such as (i) the pupil's knowledge of English would deteriorate, (ii) suitable textbooks in modern Indian languages were not available, (iii) there would be great difficulties in cases of provinces speaking more than one vernacular language, (iv) English was a language of inter-provincial importance, etc The upshot was that English continued to be the medium of instruction in secondary schools.

The educational policy outlined in the Resolution of 1913 could not in many cases be carried out because of the Great War, which had an indirect effect on the course of Indian

education. It began to be felt that the time had come for political and educational reforms, and for a greater devolution of responsibilities on Indians The Calcutta University Commission and the 'Montford' Constitutional Reforms were the results of that feeling.

The Calcutta University Commission, 1917

Although the Commission was mainly concerned with the reform of University and Collegiate education, yet it made far-reaching recommendations about Secondary Education also, because the former could not improve without a corresponding improvement in the latter.

Recommendations relating to Secondary Education

"No satisfactory reorganisation of the University system of Bengal will be possible unless and until a radical reorganisation of the system of Secondary Education, upon which University work depends, is carried into effect" Although Secondary Education had been expanding remarkably during the preceding few decades, it had become very defective on account of the following four principal causes·

"(a) In the first place, most of the High English Schools are under-equipped and are conducted by underpaid and for the most part an untrained staff.

(b) In the second place, they are unduly dominated by an examination (the Matriculation) which is itself ill-designed and not of sufficiently high standard, and which gives no encouragement to many lines of study necessary for the welfare of the pupils and for the prosperity of the country.

(c) In the third place, owing to the existing division of authority between the University and the De-

partment of Public Instruction there is no adequate machinery for supervising, guiding and assisting the work of the school as a whole· in other words, no coherent system of Secondary Education yet exists

(d) In the fourth place, a large and vitally important part of secondary instruction is actually conducted not by the schools, but by the colleges of the University in their intermediate classes and, because it is so conducted, it largely fails in its purpose, partly because the methods chiefly employed (those of the mass lecture) are unsuitable for work at this stage, and partly because many subjects and lines of study, specially those which have a vocational bearing, are almost wholly disregarded."[5]

The Commission, therefore, recommended that

"(1) The stage of admission to the University should be (approximately) that of the present Intermediate instead of that of the present Matriculation

(2) The duty of providing training at the Intermediate stage should be transferred from the Universities to new institutions to be known as 'Intermediate Colleges', some of which should be attached to selected high schools, while others would be organised as distinct units.. ...The Intermediate Colleges for men should in all cases be separate from Degree Colleges

(3) There should be two secondary school examinations, the first, approximately corresponding to the present Matriculation ... .., the second, approximately corresponding to the present Intermediate, but much more varied in its range Success

[5] Calcutta University Commission Report, Vol V, Chapter LII

in this examination should constitute the normal test of admission to the University course.

(4) There should be a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education consisting of from fifteen to eighteen members . . . . A majority of the Board should consist of non-official members and 'the Board should always include at least three representatives of Hindu and at least three of Muslim interest' The aims of the Board should be (a) 'to define the various curricula to be followed in High Schools and Intermediate Colleges,' (b) 'to conduct the two secondary school examinations described above (subject to the University control over the form and content of the latter examination),' (c) 'to grant recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges'.. and (d) 'to advise Government as to the needs of these grades of education and as to the best modes of expanding the available funds for these purposes.'

(5) The main body of the teaching staff of the Government schools and Intermediate colleges should be gradually recognised upon a professional rather than a service basis

(6) A special corps of Western trained teachers should be organised, the members of which should be enlisted not on uniform graded rates of pay, but on such terms and conditions as might be necessary to secure the right type of men and women in each case

The Medium of Instruction

While regarding the need of "reform both in the teaching of the vernacular, which should be placed on a scientific basis, and in the teaching of English as essential," the

Commission held that "the vernacular should be used in general throughout the high schools, except for the teaching of English and mathematics, which during the last four years of the course, should be conducted in English." But the students at the High School examination had the option to answer all subjects in English "The medium of instruction and examination in the Intermediate colleges and the University should be English (except in dealing with the vernacular and the classical languages)"

Examinations

"In order to maintain continuous watchfulness upon the methods and use of examinations, to ensure that they are not so mechanically conducted as to exercise a harmful influence upon teaching and study, and to make certain the purposes with which each examination is devised are held in view, and are fairly realised, there should be in each University a small Board of Examinations, whose functions should not be executive but primarily those of criticism and suggestions"

Many of the defects of Secondary Education continued to exist in spite of Curzon's reforms and the suggestions of the Government of India Resolution of 1913 But under their stimulus and reinforced by vocal national criticism, the expansion of Secondary Education steadily continued. The following table will give an idea of the increase in the number of secondary schools and their pupils and also in the expenditure on them

SECONDARY EDUCATION DURING 1906-22.[6]

	1906-07	1911-12	1916-17	1921-22
No of recognised institutions	5,898	6,370	7,693	8,98[illegible]
No of pupils reading in them	7,13,342	9,24,370	11,86,335	12,39,25[illegible]
Government Expenditure on Secondary Education	Rs 1,50,87,669	Rs 2,07,88,725	Rs 3,19,29,182	Rs 4,87,26,90[illegible]

(N B The returns of certain Indian States which used to be included in the provincial statistics were omitted from 1914-15 onwards)

As a result of the policy recommended by the Government of India Resolution of 1913, the Government decided not to transfer its existing institutions to private bodies but to maintain them as models for private efforts to imitate Indeed, the number of Government institutions constantly increased The Government had to spend a large sum of money on its own institutions with the result that private secondary schools did not get adequate grants-in-aid The tendency to imitate the same models led to a uniformity which is hardly desirable in education.

Efforts to divert a large number of students from the University studies into industrial or commercial pursuits by instituting a separate School Leaving Examination also did not succeed Students incapable of benefiting by higher education continued to crowd the colleges and the Universities as before The close subordination of high school education to the University Entrance Examination was in itself very harmful It established a false standard for schools and a wrong aim "To contract the education

[6] *The Eleventh Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, Vol II, pp 58, 59 and 60

of all," says H. R. James, "to the pattern of a preparatory course for University studies, and specially of University studies so peculiarly conditioned as they are in India, was to cripple school education"[7] It also tended to limit schools to one type and the need for better secondary schools with more practical courses of study was neglected

Another tendency to unhealthy ambition of the institutions has also been pointed out by H R James. "The Middle Vernacular School aspires to be Middle English, the Middle English to be a High School High Schools have schemed to be raised into second grade Colleges, and the second grade College, with better reason, aspires to be first grade. . The saving truth is that a good Middle School is better than a bad High School and a good High School immeasurably better than a weak and poorly equipped College has been wholly lost sight of Indeed, the mistake of the past in its ultimate expression is that the cardinal and incomparable value of school education has not been sufficiently realized"[8]

The problem of the medium of instruction at the secondary stage was discussed but English remained the medium throughout the period Even the Calcutta University Commission did not accept wholly the principle that the vernacular should be the medium of instruction at the secondary stage The Commission held that subjects like English and mathematics should be taught through the medium of English while other subjects could be taught through the medium of the vernacular But even for the latter group of subjects the candidates at the High School examination had the option to answer questions in English In actual practice, however, the situation did not materially change to any appreciable degree

During the first few years of the dyarchy which came

[7] *Education and Statesmanship in India*, p 72
[8] ibid, p 73-74

into existence as a result of the 'Montford' reforms, attention was so much concentrated on the theoretical discussion of compulsory Primary Education that Secondary Education was left to expand, as well as it could, through private efforts. That the expansion was quite rapid is clear from the following table.[9]

	1921-22	1926-27
No of recognised Secondary Schools	8,987	11,338
No of pupils reading in them	12,39,524	18,54,067
Total expenditure on Secondary Education	Rs 4,87,26,905	Rs 6,61,94,390

In keeping with the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, the powers to recognise high schools and to conduct the Matriculation Examination devolved in some provinces on other bodies like the Boards of High School and Intermediate Education But even where the Universities retained their control, the prescription of school courses, the recognition of schools, and the conduct of the Matriculation Examination were very largely withdrawn from the senates and syndicates and placed in the hands of separate committees and boards

THE HARTOG COMMITTEE (1929)

In the opinion of the Hartog Committee, Secondary Education was well advanced in comparison with mass education and although there were many defects, it was making a real contribution to the building up of a directing class

[9] *The Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, (1932-37), Vol II, pp 58-60

The Medium of Instruction

There were tendencies towards greater use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction, although English generally continued to be used as such in Anglo-vernacular schools In 1925 the use of the vernacular was permitted in Madras as the medium of instruction and examination in all non-language subjects and some schools did take advantage of this permission In Bombay, English continued to be the medium of instruction, although in 1926 permission to answer in the vernacular was given to the candidates for the School Final Examination In the U P, Assam and the Punjab the vernaculars were used as the media of instruction in all high schools. In the Central Provinces, all Government high schools used English as the medium

Failure of the School Final Examination

The School Final Examination as an alternative to the Matriculation has been largely a failure, and there was an unchecked flow of pupils from the Anglo-vernacular middle schools to the high schools and from the high schools to the colleges.

The percentage ratio of students in the first Intermediate year to those who passed the Matriculation or School Final Examination in 1927 was as follows [10]

Bombay	59 9
Bengal	80 3
United Provinces	42 8
Punjab	35 1
Burma	81 1
Bihar and Orissa	64 6
Central Provinces	67 0
Assam	47 9

According to the Hartog Committee, the institution of

[10] The Hartog Committee Report, p 113

a School Final Examination, entirely distinct from the Matriculation Examination, for industrial and commercial pursuits, "has been, to a great extent, a failure, for in the provinces in which it has been introduced, the number of candidates for the Matriculation has been largely in excess of those for the School Final examination"[11]

Some progress had been made in the training of teachers for secondary schools and the percentage of trained teachers in British India had risen from 37 4 in 1917 to 51 1 in 1927

The low percentage of passes at the Matriculation Examination ranging in 1926-27 from 41 in Bombay to 55 in the United Provinces was mainly due, in the opinion of the Committee, to organisational defects such as the "laxness of the promotion from class to class." The low rate of fees was responsible for the small variety of courses and a narrow curriculum in most schools "The plain fact is evident that a large number of boys are now wasting time, effort and money by following the existing course in secondary classes and that the waste is pitiful"[12]

To eliminate waste at the secondary stage, the Committee suggested

(1) "the retention in the middle vernacular schools of more of the boys intended for rural pursuits, accompanied by the introduction of a more diversified curriculum in those schools,

(2) the diversion of more boys to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle stage, for which provision should be made by alternative courses in that stage, preparatory to special instruction in technical and industrial schools,

and (3) better training of secondary school teachers by

[11] The Hartog Committee Report, p 105.
[12] ibid, p 106

> more prolonged courses, and frequent refresher courses with better conditions of service in prospect."

The Committee noted with satisfaction that the general conditions of school life were improving. Physical training and athletics, the health of the pupils through medical inspection, the Boy Scout Movement, etc, were receiving greater attention

An idea about the progress of Secondary Education during the period immediately following the Hartog Committee's report can be formed from the following table [13]

	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-3
o of recognised Secondary Schools	13,741	13,761	13,930	14,084	14,228	14,4
lo of pupils reading in them	22,97,519	22,97,067	23,22 264	23,62,004	24,22,918	24,96,8
)irect Expenditure on Secondary Education	Rs * 8,34,52,837	Rs * 8,09,64,233	Rs * 8,36,25,162	Rs * 8,51,55,313	Rs * 8,84,69,790	Rs * 9,08,10,8

* These figures include corresponding figures for Burma

During this period Secondary Education steadily expanded, although the rate of expansion was much slower than that in the preceding years. It is interesting to note that while the financial stringency of the period could only slow down the rate of the expansion of Secondary Education, it actually reduced the number of primary schools and the expenditure on them. In spite of the Hartog Committee's emphasis on Primary Education, Secondary Education received a greater share of public funds and Government attention during this period

[13] Compiled from the *Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, Vol II, p 61 and *Education in Universities in India*, 1947-48 (Bureau of Education, India)

Again, while the number of English middle schools and their scholars increased from 3,875 schools with 4,13,770 pupils in 1931-32 to 4,123 schools with 4,60,717 pupils in 1936-37, the number of Vernacular middle schools fell during the same period by 285, from 5,894 in 1931-32 to 5,609 and the number of their scholars fell by 67,348, from 8,05,918 in 1931-32 to 7,38,570 in 1936-37.[14]

"If, as we are told, middle vernacular rural schools are dying out to give place to Anglo-vernacular schools, it is a sign of something very wrong with educational policy For we have been told on several occasions—and our limited experience of the schools confirms the statement—that, in general the village boys whose school days have not been hampered by the grind of learning English are more alive at the end of the middle stage, that is to say, they are better educated, than their fellows of the same age in the Anglo-vernacular schools "[15]

The friction between the Government and the University on account of the duality of control over Secondary Education was lessened because the latter consented to put automatically on its lists of affiliated schools all high schools which were recognised by the education department.

The period showed a healthy sign of the greater use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. But English still continued to dominate in many places The percentage of trained men teachers in secondary schools also rose from 56 4 in 1932 to 57 3 in 1937.

The Central Advisory Board of Education which had been established in 1921 to offer advice on educational matters to the Provinces and to conduct educational surveys was abolished in 1923 as a measure of economy. It was, however, again revived in 1935. At the inaugural

[14] *The Eleventh Quinquennial Review,* Vol I, pp 81-82.
[15] Wood Abbott Report, p 14.

meeting in December, 1935, of the new Board, proposals for a radical reconstruction of school education were made

The Board was of opinion that a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools should be made in such a way as not only to prepare pupils for professional and University courses, but also to enable them, at the completion of appropriate stages, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions These stages were to be as follows

(a) The primary stage, which should aim at providing at least a minimum of general education and training and still ensure permanent literacy,

(b) The lower secondary stage, which will provide, a self-contained course of general education either for higher education or for specialised practical courses, (In rural areas, the courses at this stage should be attuned to rural requirements.

Some form of manual training at this stage should be provided which would aim at the development of practical aptitudes and be made compulsory)

(c) The higher secondary stage, in which would be included institutions with varying length of courses for

1 preparing students for admission to Universities in Arts and Science,
2 training of teachers in rural areas,
3 agricultural training,
4 clerical training,
5 training in selected technical subjects which should be chosen in consultation with employers

Where separate institutions were not possible for the diversified courses, some of them might be incorporated in a higher secondary course of enlarged scope which would permit a choice of alternative groups of subjects and would end in leaving certificates

There was to be the first public examination at the end of the lower secondary school course. Candidates desirous of joining the subordinate clerical service of Government and of local bodies should pass such qualifying examinations as might be prescribed by proper authority and should not be more than 19 years at the time of the examination.

The Board, however, felt that expert advice would be of value in organising the scheme of reconstruction outlined above, and also in the matter of suggesting methods of training masters who would assist pupils and in selection, by the pupils, of courses of study with due regard to their aptitudes.

Thus, in the words of the *Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, "the scheme contemplated the division of the school course into definite stages, each with a clearly defined objective which would enable pupils, on the completion of each stage, either to pass on, with as little disturbance as possible, to the next stage or to enter employment. It also provided for the diversion to practical occupations and vocational institutions of those pupil whose aptitudes appeared to be in that direction "[16] The recommendations of the Board could not be carried out immediately, as according to their own suggestions, they should be considered by experts. In the meantime popular discontent with the educational system had been increasing.

Dissatisfaction with the existing system had been also steadily growing on the official side The official dissatisfaction has been very well expressed by the Central Advisory Board of Education in the Introduction to their Plan for "Post-War Educational Development in India" (1944). "It is certainly not the Board's desire either to exaggerate existing defects or to overlook what has been achieved in

[16] Vol. I, p 26.

the face of grave difficulties at certain times and places, but in their considered opinion it is inconceivable that within a reasonable period, a really national system could be developed or evolved from what now exists or by the methods hitherto followed Apart from the extremely slow progress which had been made before the War, the present system does not provide the foundations on which an effective structure could be erected, in fact, much of the present rambling edifice will have to be scrapped in order that something better may be substituted."[17]

On the advice of the Central Advisory Board of Education, and with the concurrence of the Provinces, the Government of India decided in 1936 to invite ten persons of wide educational experience and familiar with the most recent ideas in regard to technical and vocational instruction to assist the Provinces in the task of educational reconstruction. The Board of Education, in England, who were approached, were unable to select a full panel of ten, as originally contemplated, but sent Messrs A Abbott and S H Wood These two gentlemen stayed in India from November, 1936 to March, 1937, confined their investigations to the provinces of the U P, the Punjab and Delhi, and brought out their report entitled "Vocational Education in India with a section on General Education and Administration."

REPORT OF MESSRS WOOD AND ABBOTT

The terms of reference were as follows.

"To advise

1) Whether any vocational or practical training should be imparted in primary, secondary and higher secondary schools and, if so, what should be its nature and extent?

[17] P 2

2) In the light of the answer to (1), to advise whether the technical or vocational institutions already in existence can be improved and, if so, in what manner and, if new institutions for vocational or technical training be required, to suggest
   i) the type of institution or institutions required for the purpose,
   ii) the stage at which diversion of the students from the ordinary secondary schools (lower or higher) to such institutions should be effected, and
   iii) the means to be adopted for effecting such diversion.
3) The differentiation or special arrangements needed to meet the special requirements of rural areas."

Although the report was mainly meant to be on Vocational Education in India, in its first part it dealt with General Education and Administration.

Suggestions with regard to General Education

(a) Infant classes should, so far as possible, be entrusted to trained women teachers, and for this and other reasons the development of educational provision for girls and women is of paramount importance

(b) The education of children in the primary schools should be based more upon the natural interests and activities of young children and less upon book learning Concentration on literacy as a narrow objective is unsound.

(c) The curriculum of the rural middle (or lower secondary) schools should be closely related to the children's environment; and if English is taught to any children of a 'middle school' age, it should not be allowed to result in an excessive amount of time being devoted to linguistic studies.

(d) The vernacular languages should, so far as possible, be the medium of instruction throughout the high- (or higher secondary) schools, but English should be a compulsory language for all pupils in these schools.

(e) The teaching of English should be made domestic and less attention should be devoted by the average boy to the study of English prose and poetry—arrangements being made to meet the needs of those boys specially qualified to pursue more advanced English studies.

(f) Manual work, that is creative manual activities of diverse kinds, should be part of the curriculum of every school.

(g) More systematic attention should be paid to the teaching of Art, and steps should be taken to secure for the high (or higher secondary) schools a supply of qualified teachers of Art.

(h) Physical education should not be limited to formal physical training and organised games. Play-grounds should be more consistently used for purely recreative purposes, especially in the case of young children.

(i) The training of teachers should be regarded as consisting of two stages: pre-employment preparation in a normal school or training college, followed by systematic short courses of training for teachers who have had some experience of their profession In due course a Government 'refresher' training college should be established in each province

(j) The pre-employment course of training for teachers of primary and middle (or lower secondary) schools should be a three-year course following, without any gap, the completion of the middle (or lower secondary) school course.

(k) There should be greater austerity of administration

in the education service, more consistent disciplinary action by authority in cases of deliberate maladministration and recovery by Government of some of the powers relinquished to local bodies.

(l) The formulation and execution of long range policy in education demands a more permanent tenure of office by the administrative head of the department of education.

(m) Inspectors should not be subjected to the distractions which come from serving more than one master, and their scale of travelling allowances should not be so limited as to hamper the efficient discharge of their duties.

(n) Inspectors and, if funds allow, selected teachers should be offered facilities for studying educational methods abroad[18]

Messrs. Wood and Abbott were not in favour of mass education through an immediate enforcement of compulsion, for the elimination of illiteracy "Magnitude of population is wholly irrelevant to the purposes and to the methods of education, and, moreover, mass movements tend to deny individuality and to strive after a uniformity which is incompatible with the dignity and the diversity of the human spirit. Education, on the other hand, is concerned with the health, happiness and development of this boy and this girl, this man and this woman, regarded as units in a society which is none other than themselves"[19]

The second part of the report deals with vocational education proper and makes the following important recommendations.

1 Vocational education is not on a lower plane than literary education, since the full purpose of education is to develop the whole power of the mind, body and

[18] Wood-Abbott Report, pp 33-34
[19] ibid, p 32.

spirit so that they may be devoted to the welfare of the society.

2. General and vocational education are not essentially different branches, but the earlier and later phases of a continuous process. Each subject in the vocational school has its origin in the non-vocational school
3 General and vocational education should not, however, be provided in the same school, since the pupils in the two types have very diverse aims. Education for industry can, with certain safeguards, be given in the same school as education for commerce.
4 Industry and commerce must co-operate with educational organisations if the vocational education provided is to be appropriate and adequate. Organised co-operation of this kind does not yet exist in India
5. Effective machinery should be established for securing close and regular co-operation between industry and commerce, on the one hand, and education on the other The establishment in each Province of a Government Advisory Council for Vocational Education was recommended
6 There should be full time junior and senior vocational schools on the model of junior and senior technical schools in England
   (a) "The junior vocational school, receiving its pupils at the end of class VIII and providing a three years' course, would be parallel to the higher secondary school, and should be held in the same repute
   (b) The senior vocational school, receiving its pupils at the end of class XI and providing a two years' course, would be parallel to the 'intermediate college'"
7 Part-time schools should be provided for the further

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(l) The formulation and execution of long range policy in education demands a more permanent tenure of office by the administrative head of the department of education.

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7. Part-time schools should be provided for the further

education of young men already in employment and, if possible, the classes should be held in the day time, the students being released by their employers for two half-days a week in order that they might attend.

8. The 'Leaving Certificates' at the end of the vocational school courses should "testify not only to the success obtained in the final examination, but also to the quality of the work done throughout the course," including the candidate's (a) "percentage of attendance, and (b) his marks for work done in the class-room, the workshop, the laboratory, and at home throughout the whole of his course."
9. "A limited number of higher secondary schools should have a bias towards the needs of agriculture throughout their curriculum, which should be a continuation of that of the rural middle school"
10 There were several trade, industrial and technical schools in the U P. and the Departments of Industries concerned were advised to "consider (a) the policy of concentrating the instruction into a smaller number of institutions, and (b) the policy of raising the standard of entrance to some of the schools, and thus diminishing the time spent in them by each student."
11 The schools in India devote insufficient attention to the teaching of art and there is a serious risk of the artistic traditions of India being weakened. The spheres of influence of the existing schools of arts and crafts should be enlarged considerably, and other schools of arts and crafts should be started Greater use of the museums should be made by building up a "loan collection" and lending good samples and photographs of these to the industrial and technical schools.
12 In view of the importance of the vocational guidance of boys when they are on the point of deciding upon

> their future occupations, it is desirable that the problem of devising suitable methods for this should be attacked in India, as it has been in so many other countries.[20]

For various reasons little effect could be given to the recommendations of Messrs Wood and Abbott The Congress Ministries that came into power in most of the provinces about the same time were too busy with their programmes of Basic Education to think seriously of reorganising Secondary Education After the resignation of the Congress Ministries in 1939, the expansion of Basic Education was not only brought to a standstill, but also abandoned in some provinces altogether The British Government was busy waging a war on two fronts—against the Axis powers outside the country and against the Quit-India Movement inside the country There was little time or money at the disposal of the Government for education. It was only in 1944, when victory was almost certain, that there could be any talk about post-war educational reconstruction Between 1938 and 1943 the Central Advisory Board of Education, however, appointed several committees to review various educational problems in the country and make suitable recommendations. The recommendations of all these committees have been generally incorporated in the most important report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on "Post-War Educational Development in India" (1944) which is popularly known as the "Sargent Scheme."

THE SARGENT SCHEME

The main conclusions[21] of the Central Advisory Board of Education about high school education were as follows.

[20] Wood-Abbott Report, pp 110-119
[21] See *Post War Educational Development in India*, Chapter III.

(a) The high school course (including one year of the present intermediate stage) should cover six years from the age of 11 plus to the age of 17 plus

(b) Entry to high schools should be on a selective basis after the completion of the Junior Basic course Only twenty per cent of the pupils leaving Junior Basic schools were expected to be found fit for high school education, the rest were to proceed to Senior Basic schools Additional places in the high schools were, however, to be provided for those not selected, provided that no cost falls on public funds.

(c) In order to secure the right children, the methods of selection to be employed will require the most careful consideration Special arrangements have to be made for transfer from Senior Basic (middle) schools to high schools of suitable children and particularly of those who show signs of development.

(d) High schools should be of two main types (a) Academic (b) Technical The objective of both should be to provide a good round education combined with some preparation in the later stages for the careers which pupils will enter on leaving school

(e) The curriculum in all cases should be as varied as circumstances permit and should not be unduly restricted by the requirements of Universities or examining bodies.

(f) In order that no poor child of ability may be excluded, liberal assistance in the form of free places, scholarships and stipends should be available throughout the course

(g) In order to secure teachers of the right type, the salaries paid in all recognised schools, whether maintained by the State or by private bodies, should not be less than those prescribed by the Central Advisory Board of Education.

(h) The estimated minimum net annual cost of the high school system outlined above, when in full operation, will be Rs 50 crores.

TECHNICAL, COMMERCIAL AND ART EDUCATION

The Board regarded "the establishment of an efficient system of Technical Education at all stages" as "a matter of great urgency." While the scope and content of technical instruction were to be in keeping with the recommendations of the Wood-Abbott Report[22] the system of Technical Education was to be on the following lines set out in the report of the Technical Education Committee.

1 Education from the earliest stages should be given a more practical character, and the curriculum should aim at making boys and girls familiar with practical as well as academic subjects
2. Technical Education should be regarded as an integral part of any educational system and is in no way inferior to education of the academic type.
3. Technical Education must include Commercial Education and art in relation to industry and Agricultural Education should be regarded as an essential branch of Technical Education. Senior Basic schools as well as high schools in rural areas were to have an agricultural bias.
4 There should be the following types of technical institutions:
   (a) Junior technical or industrial or trade schools with a two-year full-time course for pupils leaving the Senior Basic schools at the age of 14 years
   (b) Technical high schools with a six-year full-time course for selected pupils after their Junior Basic school course.

[22] See p 275-281 of this book.

(c) Senior technical institutions with full-time and part-time courses of varying periods for higher Technical Education after the technical high school course.

5. Wherever circumstances permit, polytechnics are to be preferred to monotechnics.
6. All teachers in technical institutions should have some first-hand experience of some branch of industry or commerce.
7. There should be an adequate system of scholarships and maintenance for poor students having necessary aptitude and ability

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

The existing training institutions were "barely sufficient to meet waste among existing teachers and to train those untrained" New training schools and colleges must, therefore, "be provided to supply the additional teachers whom a national system will require"—"over 20,00,000 non-graduates for schools of all types and 1,80,000 graduates for high schools" Suitable boys and girls should be picked out towards the end of the high school course, and no fees should be charged in training institutions, liberal assistance being available for the maintenance of poor students The courses should be "essentially practical and should be specially related to the needs of the schools in which the trainees will subsequently serve" Refresher courses "should be provided for research and selected teachers should be encouraged to study educational methods in foreign countries."

So far as the recruitment and training of teachers was concerned, the proposals of the Committee appointed for the purpose by the Central Advisory Board were accepted That Committee realised the unsatisfactory state of the

primary and middle school teachers "Teachers, at any rate in the primary and middle stages on which the efficiency of the whole system must ultimately depend, are being paid at rates inferior to those which apply to most classes of menials"[23] The following were some of the main proposals of the Committee.

(a) Every teacher employed in any kind of school maintained or aided out of public funds or recognised by Government must be trained.

(b) The minimum qualification for admission to a training school should be "a Matriculation Certificate or its equivalent." The candidates for such admission should not be below 16 years of age

(c) Teachers of all classes above the middle stage should be trained graduates.

(d) The teachers of nursery and infant schools and classes "should invariably be women" The Committee were "further of opinion that nearly all boys as well as girls under the age of eight benefit more from being under the instruction of women than of men."

(e) The period of training of primary, nursery, infant and Anglo-Vernacular middle schools should be two years, while that for the training of Senior Basic school teachers should be three years For high school teachers the training period should be one year, preferably eighteen months.

(f) In the case of teachers for primary or Junior Basic (including nursery and infant) schools, one-third of the course should be devoted to improving and enlarging the general educational background of the trainees with special emphasis on such subjects as nature study, local literature and history together

[23] Report of the Committee appointed to consider the *Training, Recruitment and Conditions of Service of Teachers*,

with a second language For Senior Basic school teachers' adequate time (nearly 4/9ths of the total time) should be given to training in craft work.

(g) In order to attract the right type of people to the teaching profession not only an appeal to their sense of vocation should be made, but also their conditions of service should be made attractive by means of higher scales of pay.

Some idea of the progress of Secondary Education between 1937 and 1947 can be formed from the following table.

SECONDARY EDUCATION BETWEEN 1937 AND 1947

	1937-38	1940-41	1943-44	1945-46
No of Secondary Schools (for boys & girls)	13,305	14,703	15,872	17,031
No of scholars (boys & girls)	23,92,888	27,54,239	18,39,918	26,56,773
Direct Expenditure on Secondary Education	Rs 8,47,43,746	Rs 9,38,80,239	Rs 10,67,13,361	Rs 13,82,14,770

Note The figures exclude those of Burma

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

"Looking before and after", J. R. Cunningham[24] finds the progress of modern Indian education satisfactory at almost every step. The British intentions were all along honest and aimed at the material and moral progress of the country and if certain defects crept into the educational

[24] *Modern India and the West* (edited by L S S O'Malley), pp 178-187.

system, they were mainly due to the attitude of the Indians themselves While Sir Philip Hartog had tried to show that Mahatma Gandhi was wrong when he said that the percentage of literacy had fallen during the period of British rule in India, Cunningham goes a step further and tries to prove that the British tried to foster and encourage indigenous educational institutions and did not try "to root them out." He says, "Nothing was done to discourage, much less to root out, the institutions already in being or to force new courses upon them."[25] This is the absurd length to which a prejudiced account can go. I have already dealt with this question in a previous section. If indigenous institutions were fostered by the British Government in India, how does it come about that indigenous primary schools have disappeared altogether? It is, indeed, a strange method of fostering. "As regards institutions of higher learning, notably *tols* or priestly schools of the Hindus, which are still numerous, it is largely owing to the encouragement of Government that they have been able to survive in such numbers and to improve themselves, in spite of the weakening response of the laity to the demands of the Brahmins for their maintenance"[26] This is again a gross misrepresentation of facts The surviving *tols* are few and far between, and they have never received any adequate help or encouragement from the British, except probably towards the end of the 18th century when the British wanted to conciliate the influential Muslim and Hindu classes. The indigenous institutions were certainly not perfect, but they did satisfy the needs of the people, dictated as these were by the rudimentary rural and town economy of the period Most certainly, the standard of instruction was not very high, but its lowness was compensated by its nearness to the soil. They were

[25] *Modern India and the West*, p 180.
[26] Ibid, p 180.

certainly not worthless and could very well have served as a good foundation for a truly national system of education.

Much is made of the Indians' demand for English at the beginning of the 19th century and it is often said that even without Macaulay's Minute and the subsequent Anglicist policy of the Government, the course of Indian education would have been nearly the same. I have already admitted, at appropriate places, that there was a demand for English among some Indians, more for securing jobs than for enlightenment During the Orientalist regime, influential Hindus and Muslims were conciliated, and when the class of job-hunters increased, efforts were made to conciliate them by giving them a knowledge of English adequate for clerical posts The Anglicists clearly saw that if British rule was to survive, they must raise, in Macaulay's words, "a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indians in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" It was on the education of this class that the British educational efforts were concentrated and the millions whom they governed were almost entirely ignored. Mayhew writes that the Government which so far back originated the theory of Downward Filtration and backed it up in practice "must be held to deserve a beating" His comment deserves to be quoted in full "For, by so doing, it encouraged the separation of mass from class, town from country, western from eastern modes of thought and life, to which India, left to herself, has always been too prone It established the idea that education is a luxury, an investment, perhaps also for the thrifty, but an investment in which privileged classes will receive most assistance from the State It also obscured the truth that the education of the people of India means nothing if it does not mean the development of the cultural

instincts and the raising of the material level of all classes of those people."[27]

It was to this class of 'Englishmen' of Indian origin that the task of refining the vernaculars and raising others to their own cultural level was entrusted. And most members of this class, as we all know, have been unable to speak their own mother-tongue with any degree of fluency

A section of the secondary schools, the vernacular middle schools were certainly meant to educate the common people in Western science and literature through the medium of the vernacular. But most of these schools were situated in rural areas and were not so well equipped and staffed as the English middle schools and high schools in urban areas The former were, therefore, generally regarded as inferior. Moreover, the two types were maintained as two vertical columns of the educational ladder, and when a student, after finishing his education in a vernacular middle school, wanted to join a high school, he had to waste one year in a special class for a grounding in English in order to be able to follow instruction in higher classes through that medium. The vernacular middle schools should have been in a much larger strength because of the much greater numbers for whom they were supposed to cater, and yet this was never the case.

As the expansion of Secondary Education was mainly left to private initiative on a system of grants-in-aid, there was no plan or direction. The high schools never tried to prepare children for different vocations of life but only served as feeders to the colleges The result was that the colleges were overcrowded with pupils unable to benefit by a higher type of literary education provided there Half-hearted and unsuccessful efforts were made to give Secondary Education a vocational bias. The dominance of the Uni-

[27]Quoted by D P Mukerji *Modern Indian Culture*, pp 86-7

versities over Secondary Education through their Matriculation Examination has been chiefly responsible for this unfortunate trend. Recently, however, there has been a healthy movement to free the high school from the clutches of the Universities

Indian high schools—"Britain's most distinctive contribution"—have signally failed to achieve a synthesis of the East and the West Both the vernacular and the classical languages have been certainly taught in some schools, but they have been very inefficiently taught by the lowest-paid teachers of the whole staff. It is very recently that the teachers of the vernacular and classical languages have begun to receive the same scales of pay as teachers of English and other subjects.

The spheres of Primary and Secondary Education were never clearly defined till 1935, and then little heed was paid to the recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education. Sometimes the high schools have contained the primary classes also, beginning from the third class The Sargent Scheme for the first time realised the psychological need of well-defined and separate stages. "At about the age of eleven or twelve, with the onset of adolescence, certain mental and physical changes occur in boys and girls which necessitate a corresponding adjustment both in the content of the curriculum and in the methods of instruction."[28]

H. V Hampton has very well summed up the contribution of the British educational policy towards Secondary Education in the following words:

"When the present is viewed in its proper historical perspective, it seems reasonable to conclude that the secondary

[28] The Sargent Plan, Chapter 1.

Note The Second Kher Committee which examined the Wardha Scheme also realized this fact and split the Basic course into two stages the Junior Basic stage and the Senior Basic Stage.

school system suffers from arrested development; it has failed to keep pace with the changes—social and political, economic and industrial—which have gone to the making of modern India, and it has failed to keep abreast of the latest development in educational theory and practice. Schools are weighed down by the incubus of Matriculation and fettered by regulations governing recognition; courses are bookish and theoretical and provide little to attract pupils with a practical turn of mind; the excessive use of English as the medium of instruction places a severe psychological burden on both pupils and teachers—it stifles individuality, encourages memorization and makes instruction lifeless and mechanical; scientific and practical subjects are neglected and inadequate provision is made for out-door games and other recreational activities. The whole system is rigid and inelastic and is characterized by a dull and monotonous uniformity. On the whole, India has been well served by expert advice but, despite the recommendations of various Committees and Commissions, little has been done to adapt an outworn system to the conditions of modern life. Indeed, it is only a slight exaggeration to say that the Indian high school, with a few notable exceptions, is much the same as it was in 1904 and has but little changed from what it was as far back as 1884. It is abundantly clear, therefore, that the secondary system must be re-organised and made more fruitful; at present, it brings only disillusionment and discontent to many whose abilities and aspirations are deserving of a better reward."[29]

Let me make it clear that I do not mean to deny the immense good that English education has done to India. What I mean to deny is that the British administrators had the welfare and progress of India at heart.

[29] *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, No. 15, pp. 30-1 (published in 1943)

CHAPTER XVI

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

THE story of the development of Secondary Education after Independence is very briefly told, because there are hardly any great developments to report The national Governments at the Centre and in the States have been experiencing a financial stringency of great magnitude They have not yet been able to put into full operation even their plans of national Basic Education to which they had pledged themselves during the last years of our struggle for Independence But the need for a thorough reorganisation of Secondary Education has all along been felt, and a Secondary Education Commission has already been appointed to study the entire problem of Secondary Education in the country.

While a wholesale reorganisation of Secondary Education to fit in with the plan of Basic National Education has yet to be effected, certain steps in the right direction have already been taken. The Central Advisory Board of Education appointed a Committee on Secondary Education in India under the presidentship of Dr Tara Chand. Its report was published from New Delhi in 1948 A summary of its main conclusions and recommendations is as follows:

1. Admission to the degree course should be preceded by a course of Primary and Secondary Education of at least twelve years.
2. Of the above twelve years, five years should be spent at the Junior Basic stage, three years at the Senior Basic or Pre-Secondary stage and four years at the Secondary stage.
3. The teaching of the Federal language should begin

act as a co-ordinating body for the proposed Provincial Boards.

14. Youth Movements, Scout Movements, etc., should be encouraged in all schools.
15. A number of Public Schools may be established to foster the growth of leadership among pupils. Admission to such schools should be governed by merit alone. There should also be provision for scholarships and free places up to 50% of available seats in such schools.

Some of these recommendations have already begun to be implemented. The U.P. took the lead in this matter. As far back as 1937-38 when the Congress Government was first in office, it appointed a committee under the presidentship of Acharya Narendra Deva. The Narendra Deva Committee's Report was published, but its recommendations could not be carried out because the Congress Ministry there, as elsewhere, had to resign on the issue of the Indian participation in the Second World War But after Independence Secondary Education has been reorganised. Instead of the uniform system of Secondary Education for all, irrespective of individual aptitudes and predilections, that prevailed during the British rule, there are now four types of secondary schools, the literary, the scientific, the constructive and the æsthetic The first two are meant chiefly for those who have the ability and aptitude for going to the University. The constructive type is meant chiefly for those who are expected to take up a career after completing the higher secondary stage. The introduction of a few optional constructive subjects which had been occasionally tried during the British regime was no solution of the problem at all, because they were generally relegated to a minor place in the curriculum. A training school has also been established at Allahabad for training

teachers in various aspects of constructive work, such as agriculture, ceramics, industrial chemistry etc.

Madras also has a bifurcated course at the high school stage consisting of three types: (a) Secretarial, (b) Pre-technical, and (c) Aesthetic and Domestic.

The Board of High School and Intermediate Education, U.P., has also decided to make Hindi the sole medium for answering High School and Intermediate examination papers from the year 1953. In other States also, the Federal language and the regional languages are coming into their own and English is being relegated to a secondary place that it deserves. Some States of South India like Madras still hug English. Indeed in 1949, the teaching of English was ordered in forms I to VI instead of forms II to VI, while the study of Hindi as a third language was made optional. Those who did not offer Hindi were allowed to learn an additional craft or to occupy themselves in other approved activities. In Mysore, however, Hindi has been introduced as a compulsory non-examination subject In Travancore-Cochin Hindi was introduced as a compulsory third language in forms II and III in 1950-51 with the intention of progressively extending it to forms IV, V and VI every year. In Hyderabad also Hindi has been introduced as a compulsory second language in secondary schools

The problem of language is going to be the most difficult thing in the reorganisation of Secondary Education. If in our secular democracy equality of opportunity for full development is to be offered to all regional languages, and to the different languages of any minorities inhabiting those regions, how then is the problem of one common language for all India to be solved? It appears that the majority of our children will have to learn at the secondary stage at least three languages—the regional language (which will very often be the students' mother-tongue also), the

Federal language and English Only in States like the U.P. where the Federal language is also the mother-tongue of most people, will the children have to learn only two languages—Hindi and English.

Efforts are also being made to place the study of Sanskrit on a more systematic footing. Under the auspices of the U.P Government a Conference of Sanskrit scholars and educationists was held in 1950. It was attended by the representatives of various States and Universities also The Conference recommended that Sanskrit examinations like the Prathma, Madhyama, and Shastri should be standardised and their syllabuses remodelled to include modern subjects. It was also recommended that the Prathma, Madhyama and Shastri courses of 3, 4 and 2 years' duration should correspond to the junior high school, higher secondary and degree stages respectively

Almost every State has its own plan for reorganising Secondary Education The Government of Bombay appointed what came to be known as the Bhise Committee which brought out its report in February 1950. It recommended that by 1960-61 all children between the ages of 11 and 14 years should also be brought under compulsion. Admission should be encouraged by means of scholarships to poor students and girls Other recommendations were:

1. The duration of the secondary course should be lengthened to five years, and if possible to six,
2. The first two years of the University course should be transferred to the high school stage, if this was not possible then at least the first year;
3. It was not desirable to have separate institutions like Intermediate colleges;
4. Standards V to VII should be treated as primary and no fee charged for these standards in public primary schools;

5. The teaching of English should be regarded as an all-India problem,
6 Government should establish central schools in suitable places and first grade primary schools in as many villages as possible. The central school should serve as a model and it should also run a community centre,
7 To keep down the cost of education there should be co-education throughout the primary stage and all separate girls' schools teaching Standards I to VI in urban areas should be abolished within three years,
8 The Lokshala course is an anachronism and should be abolished.

It is thus clear that the need for the reorganisation of Secondary Education is being keenly felt everywhere. In their enthusiasm some States are likely to take a retrogressive step It is, therefore, necessary that a lead in this direction must be given by the Centre so that satisfactory progress along desirable lines is ensured everywhere The Centre must be constitutionally enabled to have more than mere advisory powers in connection with educational schemes of all-India importance

Sir John Sargent's idea of selection of pupils for high schools must be revised According to him "the function of a high school is to cater for those children who are well above the average in ability" When advanced countries of the West are thinking in terms of extending the age of compulsion to 17 years and of providing for all a core of general education of a higher standard, it would be unfortunate if India is contended with a minimum of common education for all of a much lower standard and introduces specialisation at much too early an age.

The First Five-Year Plan (1951) has recognised the important problems of Secondary Education The secondary schools must serve the practical needs of

the community more effectively and provide cadres of leadership, especially for rural areas. The problems of the scope and duration of Secondary Education, the medium of instruction in different States, and the place of English have been recognised But it was left to a panel of experts to make specific recommendations. The Secondary Education Commission has since been appointed and it has brought out a comprehensive report which makes far-reaching suggestions for the reorganisation of Secondary Education in the country as a whole.

THE SECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION, ITS APPOINTMENT AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

(October 1952–June 1953)

In keeping with the recommendation of the Central Advisory Board of Education made at its 14th meeting held in January 1948, the Government of India appointed the Secondary Education Commission in September, 1952 with Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University as its chairman. Its terms of reference were.

"(a) to enquire into and report on the present position of Secondary Education in India in all its aspects, and

(b) suggest measures for its reorganization and improvement with particular reference to

- (i) the aims, organization and content of Secondary Education;
- (ii) its relationship to Primary, Basic and Higher Education,
- (iii) the inter-relation of Secondary of different types, and
- (iv) other allied problems

so that *a sound and reasonably uniform system of*

Secondary Education suited to our needs and resources may be provided for the whole country."

Raison D'etre of an All-India Commission

Although under the Constitution, Secondary Education is mainly the concern of the States, yet "in view of its impact on the life of the country as a whole, both in the field of culture and technical efficiency, the Central Government cannot divest itself of the responsibility to improve its standards and to relate it intelligently to the larger problems of national life."[1] Moreover, the Centre is directly charged with the responsibility of maintaining proper standards in higher education, and "this cannot be done, unless careful consideration is given to the level of efficiency attained at the secondary stage"[2] Again, "for the proper functioning of democracy, the Centre must see that every individual is equipped with the necessary knowledge, skill and attitudes to discharge his duties as a responsible and co-operative citizen", and "training for democracy postulates a balanced education in which social virtues, intellectual development and practical skill all receive due consideration and the pattern of such an education must be envisaged on an all-India basis".[3] It is also the duty of the Central Government to check certain undesirable tendencies of provincialism, regionalism and other sectional differences in order to strengthen the forces of national cohesion and solidarity. If education is to achieve this end, there should be the closest co-operation and co-ordination between the Centre and the States "In some fields of Secondary Education the Central Government should assume greater responsibility, e g, in the training of teachers, the formu-

[1] *Report of the Secondary Education Commission*, p. 5
[2] ibid, p 5
[3] ibid., pp 5 and 6

lation of educational and vocational tests, the production and selection of better text books, and the training of technicians."[4]

ORIENTATION OF AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Defects of the Existing System

(i) The instruction given in our schools is isolated from life, the curriculum and the traditional methods of teaching failing to give the students insight into the every-day world in which they live "Unless the school is itself organized as a community and is in vital *rapport* with outside community life, this situation cannot be remedied."

(ii) "It is narrow and one-sided and fails to train the whole personality of the student," the "non-cognitive" aspects of his personality—his practical aptitudes, his tastes, his emotions, his appreciation—being largely ignored.

(iii) Until comparatively recently, English was both the medium of instruction and a compulsory subject of study, and other subjects, which were psychologically and socially important or congenial, were not given greater attention.

(iv) The methods of teaching generally practised failed to develop in the students either independence of thought or initiative in action They stressed competitive success rather than the joy of co-operative achievement.

(v) The increase in the size of classes has considerably reduced personal contact between teachers and pupils, thus seriously undermining the training of character and inculcation of proper discipline

[4] *Report of the Secondary Education Commission,* p 6

(vi) "The dead weight of the examination has tended to curb the teachers' initiative, to stereotype the curriculum, to promote mechanical and lifeless methods of teaching, to discourage all spirit of experimentation and to place the stress on wrong or unimportant things in education."

Aims of Secondary Education

Having achieved its political freedom, India has decided to transform itself into a secular democratic republic The educational system must, therefore, "make its contribution to the development of habits, attitudes and qualities of character, which will enable its citizens to bear worthily the responsibilities of democratic citizenship and to counteract all those fissiperous tendencies which hinder the emergence of a broad, national and secular outlook Secondly, though rich in potential resources, India is actually a poor country at present, a large number of its people have to live at an economically sub-human level One of its most urgent problems, if not the most urgent problem, is to improve productive efficiency, to increase the national wealth and thereby to raise appreciably the standard of living of the people Thirdly, partly as a result of this oppressive and widespread poverty, there is a serious lack of educational facilities and the bulk of people are so obsessed with the problem of making some sort of a living that they have not been able to give sufficient attention to cultural pursuits and activities"[5] We must, therefore, "formulate our aims with reference to these broad categories —the training of character to fit the students to participate creatively as citizens in the emerging democratic social order, the improvement of their practical and vocational

[5] *Report of the Secondary Education Commission*, p 23

efficiency so that they may play their part in building up the economic prosperity of their country, and the development of their literary, artistic and cultural interests, which are necessary for self-expression and for the full development of the human personality, without which a living national culture cannot come into being."[6]

Role of Education in Developing Democratic Citizenship

In a democracy an individual must form his own independent judgment on all kinds of complicated social, economic and political issues and, to a large extent, decide his own course of action. "The first requisite in this connection is to develop the capacity for clear thinking and a receptivity to new ideas", "the understanding and the intellectual integrity to sift truth from falsehood, facts from propaganda and to reject the dangerous appeal of fanaticism and prejudice"[7] Clearness in speech and writing is another essential perquisite for successful living in a democracy which is based not on force, but on free discussion, persuasion, and peaceful exchange of ideas. Among the qualities necessary for living graciously, harmoniously and efficiently with one's fellow men "*are discipline, co-operation, social sensitiveness* and *tolerance*." Discipline is an essential condition for successful group work. This discipline is "the fruit, the valuable by-product, of co-operative work willingly undertaken and efficiently completed." "A passion for social justice based on a sensitiveness to the social evils and the exploitation which corrupts the grace of life, must be kindled in the heart and mind of our people, and the foundations for it should be laid in the school." Again, the essence of democracy "is not only

[6] *Report of the Secondary Education Commission*, p 23.
[7] ibid, p 24.

the tolerating but the welcoming of differences which make for the enrichment of life." The secondary school must also develop among the students a sense of true patriotism "which involves three things—a sincere appreciation of the social and cultural achievements of one's own country, a readiness to recognize its weaknesses frankly and to work for their eradication and an earnest resolve to serve it to the best of one's ability, harmonizing and subordinating individual interests to broader national interests"[8]

IMPROVEMENT OF VOCATIONAL EFFICIENCY

We must concentrate on increasing the productive or technical and vocational efficiency of our students by creating in them "a new attitude to work – an attitude that implies an appreciation of dignity of all work, however 'lowly', a realisation that self-fulfilment and national prosperity are only possible through work in which every one must participate and a conviction that when our educated men take any piece of work in hand, they will try to complete it as efficiently and artistically as their own powers permit" Thus there should be much greater emphasis on crafts and productive work in all schools and, in addition, diversification of courses should be introduced at the secondary stage so that a large number of students may take up agricultural, technical, commercial or other practical courses which will train their varied aptitudes and enable them either to take up vocational pursuits at the end of the secondary course or to join technical institutions for furthur training.

DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

In the past, our schools have left whole areas of the pupil's

[8] *Report of The Secondary Education Commission*, p 26.

personality untouched and unquickened — their emotional life, their social impulses, their constructive talents, their artistic tastes. One of the main functions of "Secondary Education should be to release the sources of creative energy in the students so that they may be able to appreciate their cultural heritage, to cultivate rich interests which they can pursue in their leisure and so contribute, in later life, to the development of this heritage" So "a place of honour should be given to subjects like art, craft, music dancing and the development of hobbies."

Education for Leadership

On passing out of the secondary school, such students as do not propose to join a college or technical institution should be able to enter on the various walks of life and fill the role of, what may be called, leadership at the intermediate level A democracy cannot function successfully unless all the people—not merely a particular section—are trained for discharging their responsibilities and this involves training in discipline as well as leadership. The primary or Basic school will inculcate in all the capacity for disciplined work, while the university will train leadership at the highest level in different walks of life The special function of the secondary school, in this context, is to train persons who will be able to assume the responsibility of leadership—in the social, political, industrial or cultural fields—in their own small groups of community or locality.

New Organisational Pattern of Secondary Education

The Secondary Education Commission has made the following recommendations in this connection.

New Organisational Pattern

1. Under the new organisational structure, Secondary Education should commence after a four or five years' period of Primary or Junior Basic education and should include (a) the Middle or Senior Basic or Junior Secondary stage of 3 years, and (b) the Higher Secondary stage of 4 years.
2. The present Intermediate stage should be replaced by the Higher Secondary stage which should be of four-years' duration, one year of the present Intermediate being included in it
3. As a consequence of the preceding recommendations, the first degree course in the University should be of three years' duration.
4. During the period of transition the existing high schools and the proposed higher secondary schools should function side by side. For those who pass out of the high school there should be provision for a pre-University course of one year, during which period the scheme of studies should be planned with due regard to the needs of the degree or the professional course to be taken by the students and special emphasis should be placed on the quickening of intellectual interests, training in methods of study at college and the study of English so long as it continues to be the medium of instruction at the University.
5. Admission to professional colleges should be open to those who have completed the higher secondary course or have taken the one-year's pre-University course
6. In professional colleges, a pre-professional course of one year should be provided for the students, preferably in the professional colleges themselves, but, as a transitory measure, they may be given in the degree

colleges where facilities exist, till professional colleges are able to provide for such courses.

7. Multi-purpose schools should be established wherever possible to provide varied courses of interest to students with diverse aims, aptitudes and abilities.
8. Those who have successfully completed such courses should be given opportunities to take up higher specialised courses in polytechnics or technological institutions.
9. All States should provide special facilities for agricultural education in rural schools and such courses should include horticulture, animal husbandry and cottage industry.

Technical Education

10. Technical schools should be started in large numbers either separately or as part of multi-purpose schools.
11. Central technical institutions should be established in larger cities which may cater to the needs of several local schools.
12. Wherever possible technical schools should be located in close proximity to appropriate industries and they should function in close co-operation with the industry concerned.
13. Apprenticeship training being an important part of the training needed, suitable legislation should be passed making it obligatory for the industry to afford facilities to students for practical training.
14. In the planning of technical and technological education at all levels, representatives of Commerce and Industry should be closely associated with the educationists so that in the planning and direction of such education and in the maintenance of standards their views may be given effective weight.

15. A small cess to be called the "Industrial Education Cess" should be levied on industries and the proceeds of this cess should be used for the furtherance of technical education.
16. In the interest of evolving a suitable pattern of technical courses at the secondary stage, the All-India Council for Technical Education and the bodies functioning under it should be utilised for working out details of the courses.

Other Types of Schools

17. Public schools should continue to exist for the present and the pattern of education in them should be brought into reasonable conformity to the general pattern of national education. Such schools should gradually become self-supporting, but during the transitional period of the next five years, State or Central assistance should be given to them on a gradually diminishing scale.
18. The States or the Centre should provide for certain free studentships in them to be given on the basis of merit to selected students.
19. A number of residential schools should be established, more particularly in certain rural areas, to provide proper opportunities for the education of children and particularly to meet the needs of children whose education suffers at present owing to the exigencies of service of their parents.
20. "Residential Day Schools" should be established in suitable centres to provide greater opportunities for teacher-pupil contact and for developing recreational and extra-curricular activities
21. A larger number of schools should be established to meet the needs of the handicapped children.

Co-Education

22. While no distinction need be made between education imparted to boys and girls, special facilities for the study of home science should be made available in all girls' schools and in co-educational or mixed schools
23. Efforts should be made by State Governments to open separate schools for girls wherever there is demand for them.
24. Definite conditions should be laid down in regard to co-educational or mixed schools to satisfy the special needs of girl students and women members of the teaching staff.

The Study of Languages

The Commission has discussed the problem of languages in India at the secondary stage and made the following recommendations:

1 The mother-tongue or the regional language should generally be the medium of instruction throughout the secondary school stage, subject to the provision that for linguistic minorities special facilities should be made available on the lines suggested by the Central Advisory Board of Education

Note —The Central Advisory Board of Education considered in 1949 the case of pupils belonging to certain minority groups and passed a resolution to the effect that if in a school there were at least 40 children speaking a language other than that of the rest of the scholars, arrangements must be made for their instruction in the mother tongue by appointing a teacher If, however, the number of pupils speaking a language other than the regional or State language is sufficient to justify a separate school in any

area, the medium of instruction in such a school may be the language of the pupils.

2. During the middle school stage, every child should be taught at least two languages. English and Hindi should be introduced at the end of the Junior Basic stage, subject to the principle that no two languages should be introduced in the same year.
3. At the high and higher secondary stages, at least two languages should be studied, one of which being the mother-tongue or the regional language.

CURRICULUM AND TEXT-BOOKS

The Commission has made the following recommendations about the curriculum and text-books in secondary schools.

CURRICULUM

1. At the middle school stage, the curriculum should include (i) Languages; (ii) Social Studies; (iii) General Science, (iv) Mathematics, (v) Art and Music; (vi) Craft, and (vii) Physical Education.
2. At the high school or higher secondary stage, diversified courses of instruction should be provided for the pupils.
3. A certain number of core subjects should be common to all students whatever the diversified courses of study that they may take, these should consist of (i) Languages, (ii) General Science, (iii) Social Studies, and (iv) a Craft.
4. Diversified courses of study should include the following seven groups (i) Humanities, (ii) Science, (iii) Technical subjects, (iv) Commercial subjects, (v) Agricultural subjects, (vi) Fine Arts, and (vii) Ho

Sciences; as and when necessary additional diversified courses may be added.

5. The diversified curriculum should begin in the second year of the high school or higher secondary school stage.

Text-Books

6. With a view to improving the quality of text-books prescribed, a high power Text-Book Committee should be constituted which should consist of a high dignitary of the judiciary of the State, preferably a Judge of the High Court, a Member of the Public Service Commission of the region concerned, a Vice-Chancellor of the region, a headmaster or headmistress in the State, two distinguished educationists and the Director of Education, this Committee should function as an independent body.
7. A fund should be maintained from the amount realised from the sale of publications which may be utilised for awarding scholarships, and providing books and certain other amenities for school children
8. The Text-Book Committee should lay down clear criteria for the type of paper, illustrations, printing and format of the book.
9. The Central Government should set up a new institution, or help some existing Art schools, to develop training in the technique of book illustration.
10 The Central and State Governments should maintain libraries of blocks of good illustrations which could be loaned to Text-Book Committees and publishers in order to improve the standard of book illustration
11. Single text-books should not be prescribed for every subject of study, but a reasonable number of books which satisfy the standards laid down should be re-

commended leaving the choice to the schools concerned.

12. In the case of languages, however, definite text-books should be prescribed for each class to ensure proper gradation

13 No book prescribed as a text-book or as a book for general study should contain any passage or statement which might offend the religious or social susceptibilities of any section of the community or might indoctrinate the minds of the young student with particular political or religious ideologies.

14 Frequent changes in text-books prescribed for study should be discouraged.

DYNAMIC METHODS OF TEACHING

"Expression work" of different kinds must, therefore, form part of the programme in every school subject.

5. In the teaching of all subjects special stress should be placed on clear thinking and clear expression both in speech and in writing.
6. Teaching methods should aim less at imparting the maximum quantum of knowledge possible and more at training students in the techniques of study and methods of acquiring knowledge through personal effort and initiative.
7. A well-thought out attempt should be made to adapt methods of instruction to individual students as much as possible so that dull, average and bright students may all have a chance to progress at their own pace.
8 Students should be given adequate opportunity to work in groups and to carry out group projects and activities so as to develop in them the qualities necessary for group life and co-operative work
9. As the proper use of a well-equipped school library is absolutely essential for the efficient working of every educational institution and for encouraging literary and cultural interests in students, every secondary school should have such a library, class libraries and subject libraries should also be utilized for this purpose
10 Trained librarians, who have a love for books and an understanding of students' interests, should be provided in all secondary schools and all teachers should be given some training in the basic principles of library work in the Training College as well as through refresher courses.
11 Where there are no seperate Public Libraries, the school libraries should, so far as possible, make their facilities available to the local public and all Public

Libraries should have a special section for children and adolescents.

12 In order to improve general standards of work in school, necessary steps should be taken to produce text-books as well as books of general reading which are of distinctly superior quality to the books at present available.

13 Suitable literature for the guidance and inspiration of teachers should be produced by the Education Departments of all States and either the Office of the Director of Education or one of the Training Colleges should be adequately equipped for the purpose

14. In order to popularize progressive teaching methods and facilitate their introduction, "experimental" and "demonstration" schools should be established and given special encouragement where they exist, so that they may try out new methods freely without being fettered by too many department restrictions

The Education of Character

The Commission here discusses in some detail how the students' character can be built through proper discipline, religious and moral instruction and extra-curricular activities and makes the following recommendations in this connection:

Discipline

1 The education of character should be envisaged as the responsibility of all teachers and should be provided through every single aspect of the school programme

2. In order to promote discipline personal contact between teacher and the pupils should be strengthened, Self-Government in the form of the house system with

prefects or monitors and student-councils, whose responsibility will be to draw up a Code of Conduct and enforce its observance, should be introduced in all schools.

3. Special importance should be given to group games and other co-curricular activities and their educational possibilities should be fully explored
4. Suitable legislation should be passed making it an election offence to utilise students below the age of 17 for the purposes of political propaganda or election campaigns.

Religious and Moral Instruction

5. Religious instruction may be given in schools only on a voluntary basis and outside the regular school hours, such instruction being confined to the children of the particular faith concerned and given with the consent of the parents and the managements.

Extra-Curricular Activities

6. Extra-curricular activities should form an integral part of education imparted in the school and all teachers should devote a definite time to such activities
7. The State should give adequate financial assistance to the Scout Movement and should help to secure suitable sites for Scout Camps, schools should, as far as possible, afford an opportunity for groups of their students to spend a few days every year at such camps.
8. The N C C should be brought under the Central Government which should take the responsibility for its proper maintenance, improvement and expansion.

9. Training in First-Aid, St. John's Ambulance and Junior Red Cross should be encouraged in all schools

Guidance and Counselling in Secondary Schools

With regard to the problem of guidance and counselling in secondary schools, the Commission has made the following recommendations.

1 Educational guidance should receive much greater attention on the part of educational authorities
2 In order to broaden the pupils' understanding of the scope, nature and significance of various occupations of industries, films should be prepared to show the nature of the work in various industries and this should be supplemented by actual visits
3. The services of trained Guidance Officers and Career Masters should be made available gradually and in an increasing measure to all educational institutions.
4 The Centre should take up the responsibility of opening in different regions centres of training for Guidance Officers and Career Masters to which each State may send a number of teachers or other suitable persons for training.

The Physical Welfare of Students

The Secondary Education Commission has made the following recommendations in connection with Health and Physical Education.

Health Education

1 A properly organized school medical service should be built up in all States
2 A thorough medical examination of all pupils and

necessary follow-up and treatment where necessary should be carried out in all schools.

3. Some of the teachers should be trained in First-Aid and general principles of health so that they may co-operate intelligently with the medical staff.
4 Proper nutritional standard should be maintained in hostels and residential schools
5 The school should assist, where possible, in the maintenance of the sanitation of the area and the school children should thus be trained to appreciate dignity of manual labour.

Physical Education

6. Physical activities should be made to suit the individual and his capacity for physical endurance
7. All teachers below the age of 40 should actively participate in many of the physical activities of students and thus make them a lively part of the school programme.
8. Full records of physical activities of the students must be maintained.
9 The training in physical education should be comprehensive enough to include all aspects of health education
10. The teachers of physical education should be associated with the teaching of subjects like Physiology and Hygiene and given the same status as other teachers of similar qualifications.
11. The existing facilities for training of teachers of physical education should be expanded by increasing the seats in the existing colleges, by opening new colleges where necessary and by reorganizing some of the institutions as All-India Training Centres to which aid may be given both by the Centre and the States.

A New Approach to Examination and Evaluation

In this connection the following recommendations have been made by the Commission.

1 The number of external examinations should be reduced and the element of subjectivity in the essay-type tests should be minimised by introducing objective tests and also by changing the type of questions.

2 In order to find out the pupil's all-round progress and to determine his future, a proper system of school records should be maintained for every pupil indicating the work done by him from time to time and his attainments in the different spheres

3. In the final assessment of the pupils due credit should be given to the internal tests and the school records of the pupils

4 The system of symbolic rather than numerical marking should be adopted for evaluating and grading the work of the pupils in external and internal examinations and in maintaining the school records.

5 There should be only one public examination at the completion of the secondary school course.

6 The certificate awarded should contain, besides the results of the public examination in different subjects, the results of the school tests in subjects not included in the public examination as well as the gist of the school records.

7 The system of compartmental examinations should be introduced at the final public examination

Improvement of the Teaching Personnel

The Commission has made the following recommendations about teacher-training and the improvement of the teaching personnel.

1. A reasonably uniform procedure should be devised for the selection and appointment of teachers for all types of schools.
2. In all privately managed institutions and in schools maintained by local boards there should be a small Selection Committee entrusted with the responsibility of recruiting the staff, with the headmaster as an ex-officio member.
3. The normal period of probation for a trained teacher should be one year.
4 Teachers working in high schools should be graduates with a degree in education; those who teach technical subjects should be graduates in the subjects concerned with the necessary training for teaching it, teachers in higher secondary schools should possess higher qualifications somewhat similar to those prescribed in some universities for teachers of the intermediate colleges.
5 The teachers possessing the same qualifications and performing the same type of work, should be treated on a par in the matter of grades of salary irrespective of the type of institution in which they are working
6 Special Committees should be set up to review the scales of pay of teachers of all grades and recommend such scales of pay as will meet in a fair and just manner the varying cost of living.
7 In order to relieve teachers from anxieties about their own and their dependents' future which will affect the efficiency of their work, the system of triple benefit scheme, pension-cum-provident fund-cum-Insurance, should be introduced in all States
8. Arbitration Boards or Committees should be established to look into the appeals and grievances of teachers and to consider matters relating to suspension, dismissal etc.

9 The age of retirement in the case of physically fit and competent teachers may be extended to 60 with the approval of the Director of Education

10 The children of teachers should be given free education throughout the school stage.

11 Through a system of co-operative house building societies, teachers should be provided with quarters so as to enable them to live near the school and devote more time to the many sided activities of the school

12 Teachers wishing to go to health resorts or holiday camps or to attend educational conferences, seminars, etc. should be given travel concessions and leave facilities

13 They should be given free medical attention and treatment in hospitals and dispensaries.

14. The leave rules should, as far as possible, be uniform for all educational institutions

15. Opportunities should be provided on a generous scale for teachers to visit different institutions within the country and in special cases to go abroad on study leave for higher studies.

16 The practice of private tuitions by teachers should be abolished.

17 Persons in high public positions should give special recognition to the teachers' social status and the dignity of their profession

18 In order to attract persons of the right type to the responsible position of the headmaster, the emoluments of the post should be made sufficiently attractive

Teacher Training

19 There should be only two types of institutions for teacher-training: (i) for those who have taken the

School Leaving Certificate, or Higher Secondary School Leaving Certificate, for whom the period of training should be two years, and (ii) for graduates for whom the training may, for the present, be of one academic year, but extended as a long-term programme to two academic years.

20. Graduate teacher-training institutions should be recognised by and affiliated to the Universities which should grant the degrees, while the secondary grade training institutions should be under the control of a separate Board appointed for the purpose

21. The teacher-trainees should receive training in one or more of the various extra-curricular activities

22 The training colleges should, as a normal part of their work, arrange refresher courses, short intensive courses in special subjects, practical training in workshop and professional conferences.

23. The training colleges should conduct research work in various important aspects of pedagogy and for this purpose it should have under its control an experimental or demonstration school

24 No fees should be charged in training colleges, while during the period of training all the student-teachers should be given suitable stipends by the State, the teachers who are already in service should be given the same salary which they were getting.

25 All training colleges should provide adequate residential facilities so as to be able to arrange community life and other suitable activities for the trainees

26. For the Master's Degree in Education only trained graduates who have normally done a minimum of three years' teaching should be admitted.

27. There should be a free exchange between professors in training colleges, selected headmasters of schools and inspecting officers.

28. In order to meet the shortage of women teachers special part-time training courses should be provided.

Problems of Administration

The Commission has discussed in detail the various problems of the administration of Secondary Education such as the inspection and management of schools, school buildings and equipment, hours of work, recruitment to the public services, etc., and has made the following recommendations:

Organisation and Administration

1. The Director of Education should be the officer mainly responsible to advise the Minister and for this purpose, it is necessary that he should have at least the status of a Joint Secretary and should have direct access to the Minister.
2. A Committee should be constituted both at the Centre and in each State consisting of the ministers concerned with the various grades and types of education in order to discuss how best the resources of the departments could be pooled for the furtherance of education of all types.
3 There should be a co-ordinating committee consisting of the departmental heads concerned with the different spheres of education in order to consider methods of improvement and expansion in all fields of education.
4. There should be a Board of Secondary Education consisting of not more than 25 members with the Director of Education as its Chairman to deal with all matters of education at the secondary stage and to lay down general policies.

5. A Sub-Committee of the Board should deal with the conduct of examinations.
6. There should be a Teachers' Training Board for supervising and laying down the conditions necessary for the proper training of undergraduates and for suggesting, for the consideration of the Universities, improvements that may be needed in the training of graduates
7. The existing Central Advisory Board of Education should continue to function as a co-ordinating agency to consider All-India problems concerning education and State Advisory Boards should be constituted on similar lines in each State to advise the Department of Education on all matters pertaining to education.

Inspection of Schools

8. The true role of an Inspector should be to study problems of each school and view them comprehensively in the context of educational objectives, to formulate suggestions for improvement and to help the teachers to carry out his advice and recommendations.
9. Special Inspectors should be appointed to inspect the teaching of special subjects like Domestic Science, Art, Music, etc
10. Persons as Inspectors should possess high academic qualifications, adequate teaching experience or experience as headmasters of high schools for a minimum prescribed period In addition to direct recruitment, Inspectors should also be drawn from (i) teachers of ten years' experience, (ii) headmasters of high schools, and (iii) duly qualified staff of training colleges who may be allowed to work as such for a period of three to five years

11. The Inspectors should have a competent staff to help them in the discharge of their administrative duties.
12. In order to evaluate the academic side of activities of a school there should be a panel of experts with the Inspector as Chairman to inspect the schools
13. Three persons may be chosen from senior teachers or headmasters to visit the schools in the company of the Inspector and to spend two or three days with the staff, discussing with them and with the school authorities all aspects of school life and problems.

MANAGEMENT AND CONDITIONS OF RECOGNITION OF SCHOOLS

14. Recognition to schools should be given only on clearly defined conditions which will ensure their proper running and the maintenance of proper standards.
15. The Managing Boards of all schools should be registered and should consist of a limited number of persons with the headmaster as an ex-officio member.
16. No member of the Managing Board should directly or indirectly interfere with the internal administration of the school.
17 Every management should be required to draw definite rules of service wherein the conditions pertaining to salary, leave, etc., should be definitely laid down.
18. For proper running of a school every management should be required to provide an endowment and the income accruing from this should be shown in the receipts of the year.
19. The scales of fees fixed by the management of a school should be subject to approval of the Department of Education.
20. A committee should be appointed when necessary the Department of Education to go into the qu

of levying uniform scale of tuition fees and other fees and all accounts of the school should be subject to audit by the Department.

21. The management should satisfy the Department that qualified staff is available and will be appointed in accordance with the rules laid down by the Department for affiliation.
22. The management should satisfy the Department that adequate accommodation and equipment, etc, have been provided for the efficient running of the school.
23. The number of sections in each class should be limited and before any increase in the number of sections is made, the prior approval of the Department should be obtained.
24. In the interests of the general efficiency of schools, rules should be framed preventing undue competition amongst neighbouring schools.
25. The teaching staff should not be limited to any particular caste or community but should, as far as possible, be recruited on a wide basis.
26. In view of the importance and urgency of providing diversified courses of instruction, financial aid and encouragement should be given to the existing schools as well as the new schools providing diversified courses of study.
27. Managements should obtain prior approval of the Director of Education before opening schools and the approval should not be given unless the minimum conditions prescribed have been scrupulously fulfilled

School Building and Equipment

28. Secondary schools should be established in rural areas in central places which are easily accessible to the surrounding villages with sufficient population

29. Schools in urban areas should, as far as possible, be so located that they are free from the noise and congestion of the city and necessary transport facilities should be made available for students.
30. The open spaces available in cities must be conserved to be utilised as playgrounds by groups of schools and the State and the Central Government should prevent, through legislation, encroachment on them for industrial or commercial purposes or by housing societies
31. Normally, in designing buildings for schools, care should be taken to see that an area of not less than 10 sq. ft. is provided per student in the class rooms
32 The optimum number of boys to be admitted to any class should be 30 and the maximum should not in any case exceed 40, the optimum number in the whole school should be 500 while the maximum should not exceed 750.
33 The schools constructed in future should provide facilities for the introduction of diversified courses
34 In the type design of schools as well as the furniture etc, research should be carried on to improve functional efficiency and to adjust them to Indian conditions
35. Expert Committees should be appointed to lay down carefully the amount and the kind of equipment required for various types of diversified courses and workshops
36. Co-operative stores should be established in all schools where books, stationery and other materials required by students are made available to them at cost price
37. So far as possible, quarters should be provided for teachers in rural areas as well as urban areas to attract suitable persons to the profession and to facilitate development of a corporate community life in the schools.

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28 Secondary schools should be established in rural areas in central places which are easily accessible to the surrounding villages with sufficient population

29. Schools in urban areas should, as far as possible, be so located that they are free from the noise and congestion of the city and necessary transport facilities should be made available for students.
30 The open spaces available in cities must be conserved to be utilised as playgrounds by groups of schools and the State and the Central Government should prevent, through legislation, encroachment on them for industrial or commercial purposes or by housing societies
31. Normally, in designing buildings for schools, care should be taken to see that an area of not less than 10 sq. ft is provided per student in the class rooms
32 The optimum number of boys to be admitted to any class should be 30 and the maximum should not in any case exceed 40, the optimum number in the whole school should be 500 while the maximum should not exceed 750.
33 The schools constructed in future should provide facilities for the introduction of diversified courses
34 In the type design of schools as well as the furniture etc., research should be carried on to improve functional efficiency and to adjust them to Indian conditions
35 Expert Committees should be appointed to lay down carefully the amount and the kind of equipment required for various types of diversified courses and workshops.
36 Co-operative stores should be established in all schools where books, stationery and other materials required by students are made available to them at cost price.
37. So far as possible, quarters should be provided for teachers in rural areas as well as urban areas to attract suitable persons to the profession and to facilitate development of a corporate community life in the schools

Hours of Work and Vacations

38. Considerable latitude should be given to schools to arrange their school hours in such a way as not to interfere with the activities of the community and the general climatic and occupational conditions prevailing in the locality.
39 As a rule the total number of working days in a school should not be less than two hundred, the working hours per week should be at least thirty-five periods of about forty-five minutes each, the school should work regularly for six days in the week, one of the days being a half day when the teachers and the students might meet informally and work together on various extra-curricular and social projects.
40 School holidays need not be identical with public holidays as declared by the Government and normally during the year there should be a summer vacation of two months and two breaks of ten to fifteen days at suitable periods during the year.

Recruitment to Public Service

41 The selection for and recruitment to public service should be made successively at definite age periods i e. the age of 16 to 18, 19 to 21, 22 to 24
42 For a transitional period, this method of recruitment on the basis of age groups should be tried for about 50% of the posts, while the other 50% should be recruited on the present basis and this proportion should be gradually reduced
43 A careful study should be made of the present conditions of recruitment with particular reference to the relationship between the University degrees and public services and such degree qualifications should be

prescribed only for posts that require such high academic attainments, for this purpose, a Committee should be appointed to go into the whole system of recruitment to public service and to consider how far the methods of recruitment could be improved and related intelligently to the different levels of education

FINANCE

The recommendations of the Commission about the problem of financing Secondary Education are the following·

1 In matters connected with reorganisation and improvement of Secondary Education there should be close co-operation between the Centre and the States

2 In order to promote vocational education a Board of Vocational Education should be constituted at the Centre consisting of the representatives of ministries concerned and other interests

3 A cess called the Industrial Education Cess be levied, the amount collected to be utilised for the furtherance of technical and vocational education at the secondary stage.

4 A certain percentage of the net revenue from nationalised industries or concerns such as Railways, Communications, Posts and Telegraphs etc should be made available for the promotion of technical education in certain fields

5 Contributions for the development of Secondary Education should be exempted from the operation of the Income-tax Act.

6 Surplus funds from the religious and charitable endowments should be diverted to educational purposes

7. The amount bequeathed to public institutions for general educational purposes in the will of a deceased

person should not be subject to any duty by the Centre and the whole of it should be appropriated to the educational purpose.

8 All educational institutions and the grounds attached thereto should be exempted from the levy of property taxes.

9. The State Governments and the Centre should, wherever possible, assign lands to schools for playgrounds, buildings or agricultural farms and other necessary purposes without any charge.

10 The educational institutions which have to obtain necessary scientific apparatus, workshop appliances and books for the school library should be exempted from customs duty.

11. The Centre should assume a certain amount of direct responsibility for the contemplated reorganisation of Secondary Education and give financial aid for the purpose.

Critical Observations

Secondary Education is the most important stage in our system of education It is the stage which marks the completion of education for the large majority of our students. Further, it is the secondary schools that supply teachers to primary schools and students to the Universities Thus an inefficient system of Secondary Education is bound to affect adversely the quality of education at all stages But in spite of its importance, Secondary Education has not received during the last hundred years the attention that it deserves There have been appointed several Education Commissions like the Indian Education Commission, the Sadler and Radhakrishnan Commissions, but they dealt primarily with the problems of primary and university education. The Secondary Education Commission of 1952-53 has for the

first time devoted itself exclusively to a comprehensive or thorough examination of the problems pertaining to Secondary Education.

Secondary Education has been so far the responsibility of the Provinces or the States. It has, therefore, not been possible to reorganise it in the interests of the country as a whole. But the Centre, which has the duty of maintaining proper standards in higher education, cannot discharge its function without giving careful consideration to the level of efficiency attained at the secondary stage. The Secondary Education Commission has, therefore, rightly stressed the need of the closest co-operation and co-ordination between the Centre and the States, the duty of the former being, "the training of the teachers, the formulation of educational and vocational tests, the production and selection of better text-books, and the training of technicians.'

The aim of Secondary Education so far has been virtually the preparation of pupils for higher education in colleges. The Commission has rightly emphasised the need of the reorientation of the aims and objectives of Secondary Education. According to the Commission, the aims should include training in democratic citizenship, improvement of vocational efficiency and development of personality—aspects which have been consistently ignored in the development of modern secondary schools in India.

The Commission discusses in detail almost all the important problems of Secondary Education such as the Organisational Pattern of Secondary Education, the Study of Languages, the Curriculum in secondary schools, the Dynamic Methods of Teaching, the Education of Character, Guidance and Counselling in secondary schools, Examination and Evaluation, the Improvement of the Teaching Personnel, the Administration and Finance of Secondary Education, etc., and makes valuable recommendations about each problem. Most of the suggestions, however, are of a

very general nature and do not make specific and detailed recommendations about the particular steps that must be taken in order to solve a problem. The chapter on the Dynamic Methods of Teaching, for example, discusses the general principles of the right method, but makes no specific suggestions about how at least some important school subjects should be taught in order to achieve the aims and objectives of Secondary Education The Commission does visualise the new type of the secondary school needed by our country, but the real problem is how the existing secondary schools can be gradually converted into the desirable type. The Commission does not provide adequate guidance in the actual steps that must be taken to make the transition as smooth as possible The Commission points out the goal, but does not adequately tell us how to reach it. The members of the Commission were probably so busy visiting numerous places and people during the short time at their disposal that they could not adequately study each specific problem and make concrete suggestions for its solution.

The secondary school, as the Commission visualises it, will "provide for its pupils a rich, pleasant and stimulating environment which will evoke their manifold interests and make life a matter of joyful experiences" Under proper encouragement, students can "carry out minor repairs, white-wash school rooms, keep the school garden and compound in good shape, paint and polish the furniture, decorate the bare walls of their rooms with charts, pictures and illustrations and enliven them with flowers, wherever this loveliest of Nature's gifts is available" This will not only give the students a new feeling towards their school, but also cultivate a love of neatness and beauty and artistic taste which are at present lacking in some of our youth.

The secondary school of the future must be "an 'activity school', because activity has an irresistible appeal for every

normal child and is his natural path to the goal of knowledge and culture." The school will, therefore, "devote special attention to craft and productive work and thus redress the balance between theoretical and practical studies which has been upset for many years." The school will also build up a living library and an efficient library service "The library will be the hub and the centre of the intellectual and literary life of the reorganised school and play the same part *vis-a-vis* all other subjects as the laboratory plays for science subjects or the workshop for technical subjects."

The reformed secondary school will be organised as a community, as "a small community within a larger community, and its success and vitality will depend on the constant interplay of healthy influences between it and the larger community outside." The teachers will also develop a new orientation towards their work, by looking upon it not "as an unpalatable means of earning a scanty living but as an avenue through which they are rendering significant social service as well as finding some measure of self-fulfilment and self-expression" The school will modify its methods and system of examination and will enjoy greater freedom in the matter of organising the syllabus, selecting text-books and adopting teaching methods. In short, the schools will be transformed "into social communities where the healthy normal motives and methods of group work are in operation and children have an opportunity of learning by doing, of gaining meaningful social experiences, and thereby being trained in the supreme art of living"

The report of the Secondary Education Commission has been just published and it is going to be considered by the Central Advisory Board of Education and the different State Governments If most of its suggestions are carried out, Secondary Education in the country will no doubt be

placed on a healthy footing where planned development will be possible in the interest of the country as a whole.

PART FOUR

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COLLEGIATE OR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

CHAPTER XVII

EARLIER INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

ALTHOUGH the indigenous institutions of higher learning that existed in ancient or medieval India did not influence the development of modern Universities at all, yet it may be helpful to have some idea of their working. The ancient Aryans had a well developed system of higher education, the standard of which was by no means lower than that of modern Universities and colleges

Corresponding to the colleges of modern times, there were in ancient India Acharya-kulas or Gurukulas or Ashrams. Individual scholars of fame attracted students from far and near and taught them at their residence. The Gurukulas were generally single-teacher institutions where the Vedas, the rituals, literature, astronomy, medicine, archery, principles of warfare, etc , were taught. It is thus clear that these Gurukulas provided instruction not only in religious matters but also in a much wider range of subjects. Numerous references to these institutions are found scattered in the Upanishads and other Brahmanic literature.

There also existed in ancient India many *parishads* or assemblies of renowned scholars who were specialists in different branches of learning Disputable points in connection with religion or learning were referred to them, and their decision generally closed the controversies Individual students also approached these *parishads* for a recognition of their attainments, presumably after a test.

In course of time these *parishads* came to have regular students who stayed to study different subjects under the guidance of several teachers. Kuru, Panchala, Videha, Matsya, Ushinara, Takshila, Naimisharanya etc. became famous for their *parishads* These *parishads* later developed into famous Universities.

By the seventh century B.C Takshila had attained great fame as a University and attracted pupils from such distant places as Rajagriha and Banaras There is the famous story of the Prince of Banaras who travelled all the way to Takshila to study there. The curriculum included, besides the Vedas and the Vedangas, such subjects as medicine, surgery, astronomy and astrology, agriculture, accountancy archery and snake-charming.

Holy places of pilgrimage like Banaras and Kanchi which were visited every year by pious Brahmins and scholars from all over the country also developed in course of time into famous seats of learning. Banaras retained its fame as an educational centre till the middle ages.

Buddhist Viharas in later times also became great centres of learning. Originally meant for the education of the Buddhist monks only, they were later thrown open to the laity also Modern Bihar had so many Viharas that it has borrowed its name from them These Buddhist Viharas were different from ancient Gurukulas in several respects. While the ancient Gurukulas taught only the members of high caste Hindus, the Buddhist monks were recruited from all ranks of society. The Viharas were, therefore, more democratic in their outlook. Again, while the Gurukulas were single-teacher institutions, the Viharas were corporate educational organisations and provided education on a wider and more liberal basis.

Some of these Viharas developed into great Buddhist Universities which attracted students from beyond the borders of India, from Ceylon, China and Central Asia

The Universities of Purushapura (Peshawar), Takshila, (in the Punjab), Nalanda (in Bihar), Vikramshila (in Bengal), Kanchi (in Madras), and Vallabhi (in modern Kathiawad), were some of the famous ones. I-Tsing lived and studied at Nalanda for about ten years, and has left a vivid description of that Buddhist University. At the height of its glory, Nalanda had one thousand teachers and ten thousand students The curriculum included not only Buddhist scriptures but also the Vedas, Brahmanic literature, grammar, logic, medicine, and other subjects. The University had a learned scholar as its Dwarpala who administered to the candidates a stiff test before admission

Most of these Universities disappeared during the Muslim period When inquiries into the indigenous state of education were made in the first half of the 19th century, only *tols* existed among the Hindu institutions of higher learning At these *tols* Brahmin teachers taught in the traditional manner of the Gurukulas W Ward[1] found about 30 *tols* in Nadia alone.

In medieval times the Muslims established their own institutions of higher learning known as Madrasahs (or Colleges). They were founded chiefly at the instance of Muslim rulers or their powerful noblemen. Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Jaunpur, Rampur, Ajmer and Lahore were all famous for their Madrasahs Sher Shah, who later became king, was educated at the Madrasah of Jaunpur The curriculum of these Madrasahs included grammar, rhetoric, logic, law, history, philosophy, geometry, and astronomy, while poetry was a source of delight for all. The medium of instruction was generally Arabic

There was a tendency among these Madrasahs to specialize in different branches of learning, e g., Rampur specialized in teaching logic and medicine, Lucknow in teaching

[1] *A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindus*, pp 123 ff

theology and Lahore in teaching astronomy and mathematics.

All these places of higher learning, both Hindu and Muslim, brought the teachers and the students into close contact. The scholars loved and respected their teachers who also treated the former as their own sons and looked after them and nursed them in case of illness. Kings and rich people contributed liberally towards the up-keep of these institutions, so that most students were also provided with free boarding and lodging They were unlike the modern Indian institutions of higher education where students find their way not through their brains but through the purse.

Owing to the unsettled political conditions in the country during the 17th and 18th centuries, most of the indigenous institutions of higher learning disappeared. When the British had consolidated their position in India, some of their officials in their private capacity turned their attention to Indian education. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Calcutta Madrasah and the Banaras Sanskrit College were founded more to conciliate the influential classes among the Hindus and the Muslims and to secure legal assistants to English judges than to foster native traditions of higher learning This laid the foundation of the Orientalist policy of the Government in the early years of the 19th century, when Oriental colleges were founded in several other places In the meantime English education had been gaining in popularity owing to the efforts of the missionaries who regarded it as an excellent means of conversion, and of progressive Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy who advocated the propagation of Western knowledge through the medium of English The first institution where instruction in higher European knowledge was given through the medium of English was the Hindu College established in 1817 through the joint efforts of Raja

Ram Mohan Roy and David Hare In 1818, three missionaries, Carey, Marshman and Ward started a Mission College at Serampore which received a Charter from the King of Denmark nine years later empowering it to confer degrees. In 1820, the Bishop's College was established at Sibpur, a suburb of Calcutta, by the Church of England Mission. In 1830, Alexander Duff started the General Assembly's Institution which soon grew into a college. After the Anglicist victory over the Orientalists, the Government also established several colleges—the Hoogly College in 1836, Dacca College in 1841, Krishanagar College in 1845, and Berhampur College in 1853. The Government was also responsible for the foundation of the Medical College in 1835. Similar efforts, both by the missionaries and by the Government, were made in Bombay and Madras Presidencies also, though the number of colleges there was much smaller. Thus on the eve of the establishment of the modern Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, there were 23 colleges of general learning, three medical colleges and one engineering college in the whole of India. But the teaching in these colleges was not always of the University standard because most of them contained classes "in which the alphabet was taught under the same roof with classes reading Shakespeare, the calculus, Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and the Ramayana."[2] In Madras, there was a high school which was called a "University". It was raised to the status of Presidency College in 1852. So these colleges before Wood's Despatch were different from the affiliated colleges of the Universities later on.

The Proposal for a University at Calcutta

In 1845 the Council of Education, Bengal made a proposal for the establishment of a central University at Calcutta

[2] *Report of the Indian Education Commission of* 1882, p 18

on the model of London University It also prepared a plan and submitted it to the Court of Directors for approval The University was to be "armed with the power of granting degrees in arts, science, law, medicine and civil engineering." The Council pleaded that such a step "would encourage a high standard of qualification throughout the Presidency .. . would in a few years produce a body of native public servants, superior in character, attainments and efficiency to any of their predecessors," and "would rapidly and certainly diffuse a taste for the more refined and intellectual pleasures and pursuits of the West, to the gradual extinction of the enervating and degrading superstitions of the East."

"The adoption of the plan", the Council of Education assured the Directors, "would only be attended with a very trifling expense to Government in the commencement, for in the course of a few years the proceeds of the 'Fee Fund' would be more than sufficient to defray every expense attendant upon the University."

"It would raise the character and importance of the whole Education Department in public estimation, and ultimately place the educated natives of this great empire upon a level with those of the Western world"

Although this proposal was supported by the Government of India, it was rejected by the Hon'ble Court on the ground that it was premature.

Thus while, by the middle of the 19th century, there had come into existence in India a number of colleges where instruction in Western science and literature of a sufficiently high standard was given through the medium of English, yet there were no Universities to supervise their work or to examine their students Only the Council of Education, which was entrusted about the year 1844 with the task of preparing an annual list of suitable students coming out of these colleges for different categories of Government

jobs, began to hold a competitive examination. But the missionary institutions did not generally co-operate on the ground of partiality, and even dishonesty, of the organisers of these competitive tests. The Council of Education, therefore, made a proposal for a "central University" which, as we have seen, was not accepted by the Hon'ble Court of Directors.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF MODERN UNIVERSITIES (1854–1902)

Wood's Despatch of 1854

On the occasion of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1853, the Lord's Committee reviewed the Company's affairs in India. It examined a large number of witnesses on a number of questions, including the progress of education in this country. Several witnesses testified to the fact that native education was sufficiently advanced to justify the creation of Universities. As a result, the Government educational policy was re-stated in the famous Despatch of 1854 by Sir Charles Wood.

While in 1845 the Court of Directors had rejected the proposal of the Council of Education, Bengal, for a central University at Calcutta, they now thought that the time had arrived "for the establishment of Universities in India, which may encourage a regular and liberal course of education by conferring academical degrees as evidence of attainments in the different branches of arts and science, and by adding marks of honour for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction." They, therefore, sanctioned the establishment of Universities, on the model of London University, at Bombay and Calcutta and promised "to sanction the creation of an University at Madras, or in any part of India where a sufficient number of institutions exist, from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied." Senates consisting of "a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows" were to be responsible for "the management of the funds" and the framing of regulations. "The function of the Universities" was

only "to confer degrees upon" the students of the affiliated institutions after their examination from which "subjects connected with religious belief" were to be carefully excluded Affiliation was to be granted to all institutions "under the management of persons of every variety of religious persuasion" without discrimination. Professorships were also to be instituted "for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning" such as Law, Civil Engineering, vernacular languages "and perhaps also for Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian" because of their value for a proper cultivation of the vernacular languages. Periodical inspection of affiliated institutions and competitive examinations for scholarships were to promote "a spirit of honourable rivalry, tending to preserve their efficiency." The schemes of education were to "provide, in the Anglo-Vernacular colleges, for a careful cultivation of the vernacular languages; and, in the Oriental colleges, for sufficient instruction in the English and vernacular languages, so as to render the studies of each most available for that general diffusion of European knowledge which is the main object of education in India"

It is important to note here that Wood's Despatch does not envisage the establishment of purely affiliating type of Universities. It also recommended the institution of professorships "for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning," specially in Law, Civil Engineering, vernacular and classical languages But Lord Dalhousie in his Minute on the Despatch of 1854 made a different suggestion. He said·

"The Despatch suggests the institution of professorships, in connection with Universities, of Law, Civil Engineering, the vernacular languages, and the learned languages of India In Calcutta these professors either exist at present in connection with the Hindoo College, or will be established in the new Presidency College, or in a separate

Civil Engineering College It may seem best that they should so remain, and that they should not be connected with the University in any nearer manner. The University, as it is proposed to be constituted, will be ill suited for the superintendence of actual tuition, and according to the strict model of the London University, should be confined to the function of examination and giving degrees."[1]

Thus it came to pass that when the Universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1857, they were purely of the affiliating type.

The reason why the Universities were not established immediately after Wood's recommendation was that Lord Dalhousie thought that a further reference to the Home authorities was necessary for the clarification of certain doubts before the Government of India could give effect to the proposals for founding the Universities. A Committee was, therefore, appointed in January, 1855 to work out the details of the scheme, for establishing Universities, for submission to the Board of Directors for their final approval.

The Committee took full one year and a half and prepared a scheme which provided for an Entrance Examination, it also provided for conferring degrees in Arts, Medicine, Law and Civil Engineering, on students passing out from affiliated colleges The scheme, however, did not deal with the problem of the constitution and government of the Universities but confined itself to the consideration of regulations for holding examinations and conferring degrees While the first University examination in London was called the Matriculation Examination, in India it was to be known as the Entrance Examination. Again, while the period between the Matriculation and the Degree Examination in London was two years, in India it was to be

[1] Quoted by Prof A N. Basu *University Education in India*, Appendix B, p xiv.

four years, or in special cases, three years. Again, there was to be no examination for the Master's degree which was to be conferred only on Honours graduates. The "philosophy of education" was to be one of the optional subjects for the Honours examination.

The Committee's plan was accepted by the Government of India in their Resolution of December 12, 1856, which also approved the draft of a Bill for the incorporation of the University of Calcutta. This Bill was piloted by Sir James Colvile through the Legislative Council and became law on January 24, 1857 when it also received the Governor-General's consent Similar Acts of Incorporation were passed for the Universities of Bombay and Madras the same year Thus were established the first modern Universities of India.

The Incorporation Acts of the three Universities were substantially the same except for some minor changes needed by local conditions. According to the preambles, the Universities were to be incorporated for

1. "the better encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects of all classes and denominations . ..... in the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education," and
2 "the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees as evidence of their respective attainments, and marks of honour proportioned thereunto"

The Senate of each University was to consist of the Chancellor (the Governor-General or Governor of the Presidency), the Vice-Chancellor (to be appointed by the Governor-in-Council) and Fellows, some ex-officio and others nominated. The maximum number of the Fellows was not fixed, and in practice it happened that the teachers of affiliated colleges did not have adequate representation

on the Senates. "The teachers were present, as it were, by accident, not by right, and many of the colleges in the mofussil were never represented at all."[2]

The Senate was responsible for the management of and superintendence over all University affairs, for making and altering any bye-laws or regulations, for holding examinations, for appointing, or removing from service, all examiners, officers and servants of the University etc.

The executive authority was vested in the Syndicate which came into existence not by any provision of the Incorporation Acts but by the regulations framed by the Senate.

Thus the hold of the Government on the Universities was complete in every way. The needs of the various Government departments for suitable men were kept in the forefront and thus a University degree came to be considered by all as a passport to Government service. The establishment of affiliating Universities "did not in itself involve any increase in the teaching resources of the province, or in the opportunities of study available for students; but only the *institution* of a series of administrative bodies for the definition of curricula and the conduct of examinations and, by these means, for the regulation and supervision of the work of the colleges, to which the function of teaching was wholly reserved"[3] One of the great considerations that led the Government of India to depart from the original proposal of Wood's Despatch and establish purely affiliating Universities was no doubt the small cost that these entailed The only good they seem to have done during the latter half of the 19th century was that they co-ordinated the educational work throughout the country that was being carried on in different colleges

[2] *The Calcutta University Commission Report,* Vol. I, p 45.
[3] See *the Calcutta University Commission Report* Vol. I, Chapter 3, for detailed comments on the defects of affiliating Universities

through the institution of common examinations for degrees. But this also reduced, at the same time, all teaching to the uniform conventional methods and subjects.

THE PROGRESS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (1857-1882)

At the time of its establishment, the University of Calcutta had fourteen colleges in the Lower Provinces of Bengal and four colleges in the North-Western Provinces, while the Universities of Bombay and Madras had, altogether, three colleges with 405 students between them. The number of colleges in 1882 was more than trebled According to the Report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882 there were 27 colleges in Bengal (including six Oriental colleges), 6 in Bombay, 25 in Madras, 11 in the North-Western Provinces, 2 in the Punjab and 1 in the Central Provinces.

The number of the candidates for the Matriculation and Degree Examinations also steadily increased during this period In 1857, 162 candidates passed the Calcutta Entrance Examination and 54 passed the Madras Matriculation Examination. The First Entrance Examination in Bombay was not held till 1859 when 122 students passed it. Eleven years later, in 1867, the successful candidates numbered 338 in Madras, 163 in Bombay and 814 in Bengal. About the year 1882 no fewer than 7,429 candidates appeared at the Entrance Examinations of the different Universities and 2,778 were successful. According to H R James's calculations[4] a total of 856 candidates graduated from 1858 to 1870, over two-thirds belonging to Calcutta University alone.

In spite of the recommendations of Wood's Despatch, very little attention was paid by the Universities to the promotion of the vernacular languages As Professor A N. Basu has pointed out. "Up to 1862, Bengali (and for that

[4] *Education and Statesmanship in India*, p. 47

matter every other modern Indian language) was a subject for the B.A. examination (of Calcutta University), but from the following year the classical languages were substituted for the modern Indian languages. In all the three Universities, English was the official language and the medium of instruction, and the language of the people had no place in the newly created temples of learning."[5]

A proposal was made in 1865 for the establishment of a University in the Punjab, specially for Oriental learning and for instruction through the medium of the vernacular language of the province. A University College was started at Lahore in 1869 and this was raised in 1882 to the status of a University. The special features of this University, as they were mentioned in the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India* 1879-1902,[6] were:

It conferred degrees of Bachelor, Master and Doctor of Oriental learning on candidates who had gone through a course of training analogous to that prescribed for the examinations for the degrees in Arts, but through the medium, not of English, but of the vernacular. It conferred literary titles on candidates successful in its examinations in Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian. It conducted Proficiency and High Proficiency examinations in vernacular languages. It granted native titles to students of Muslim and Hindu Law and Medicine. It maintained an Oriental College and a Law College. The Senate advised on educational matters generally.

Again, the Punjab University Incorporation Act empowered the University to appoint its own professors and lecturers, although it did not take advantage of this provision immediately but worked more or less on the lines of the three older Universities.

The establishment of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental

[5] *University Education in India*, p. 36.
[6] Vol. I, para 153.

College at Aligarh about the year 1875 is of special significance. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) was pained at the backwardness of the Muslims who had, under the influence of their orthodox leaders, failed to take advantage of the ever-expanding facilities for English education. The British suspicion of their part in the uprising of 1857 led to their neglect by the State also. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, by his own example and writings, tried to remove the misunderstanding between the British and the Muslims He tried to prove that the Muslims were as loyal to the established Government as anybody else. In 1872, he formed the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee which received liberal contributions from the Muslim community. This institution began in a small way with a few school classes but later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University.

THE INDIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION OF 1882

The Government of India Resolution appointing the Commission did not authorise them "to enquire into the general working of the Indian Universities" The Commission, therefore, contented themselves with making only a few observations in connection with the improvement of the affiliated colleges.

The Commission drew the attention of the Local Governments to the need of "providing or extending the means of collegiate education" at several places and recommended that "the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution, and the wants of the locality." Special grants were also to be made "whenever necessary, for the supply and renewal of buildings, furniture, libraries, and other apparatus of instruction" "To encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical

side," larger colleges, Government or aided, had "to make provisions for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the Universities." Indian graduates of European Universities were to be more "largely employed than they have hitherto been in the colleges maintained by Government." The principals of colleges could at their discretion "admit to certain courses of lectures in special cases, students who have not passed the examinations required by the Universities."

For moral education "a moral text-book based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion" was to be prepared and the members of the staff were "to deliver to each of the college classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen."

While "fees at the highest rate consistent with the undiminished spread of education should be levied in every college aided by the State, no aided college should be required to levy fees at the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government college." Scholarship-holders as such were not to be "exempted from the payment of the ordinary fees." The Local Governments were required to consider the advisability of establishing scholarships for "graduates reading for the M.A. degree" and "for distinguished graduates to enable them to proceed to Europe for the purpose of practically studying some branch of mechanical industry."

Thus we see that the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission of 1882 were of minor importance. Nothing was said about the relation of collegiate courses of study to the practical needs of the students and of the community. The benefits of properly organised residential facilities were mentioned but no suggestions for their expansion made. While recognising the value of the "system of instruction becoming more thorough and more scientific," the Commission had no concrete proposals to offer. All

this was no doubt because the Commission felt that these problems were outside their terms of reference.

As far back as 1869, and in 1870, the Government of the North-Western Provinces submitted proposals for the establishment of a Central College at Allahabad as the nucleus of a University for resident under-graduates The Government of India sanctioned the establishment of the College, but kept silent on the question of the University. With the co-operation of the chiefs and feudatories the Central College was started in a hired building on July 1, 1872. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 suggested that the time had come to establish a University in the United Provinces. The Punjab University also came into existence. All these factors led to a renewed demand for a University for the province. It was urged that the establishment of a local University would stimulate educational progress in a manner that a distant University like that of Calcutta could never do As a result, the University of Allahabad was established in 1887. Although the Act of Incorporation imposed no limitations on the scope and activities of the University, yet the Lieutenant-Governor felt that at first "the University should confine its operations to the direction of the methods and aims of instruction, adapting them to the needs, circumstances, provisions and predilections of the country, which is gradually recovering its place in the intellectual progress of India"[7] As a consequence, Allahabad also followed the practice of the original three affiliating Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras

THE EXPANSION OF COLLEGIATE EDUCATION (1882-1902)

The recommendations of the Indian Education Commis-

[7] *The Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, Vol I, para 154

versity Entrance Examinations. The efforts to give Secondary Education a practical bias on the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission of 1882 also did not succeed. The courses remained predominently literary, and for want of other openings, too many students continued to flock to the colleges although they lacked the ability to benefit by a higher type of literary education.

The policy of the Universities was calculated to neglect the vernacular languages both in the affiliated colleges and in the High Schools. We have seen how till 1862, the University of Calcutta had Bengali or any other modern Indian language as a subject for the B A. examination, but from that year a classical language was substituted for a modern Indian language. The position at the close of the 19th century has been summed up by the Indian Universities Commission, 1902[9] The second compulsory language for the Intermediate Examination was usually defined as "an Eastern or Western classical or modern European language." The University of Madras alone gave the option of a modern Indian language both at the Intermediate and the degree stage.

The defects in the Universities had grown to such an extent that Lord Curzon had to turn his attention to their reform at the beginning of the 20th century.

[9] *See the Report*, pp 21-24

CHAPTER XIX

THE ERA OF UNIVERSITY REFORMS

(FROM CURZON'S REFORMS TO INDEPENDENCE)

DURING the last quarter of the nineteenth century there had been a great increase in the number of all kinds of institutions and the scholars reading in them. From the statistics given in the preceding chapters one is likely to conclude that the progress of education in India was very satisfactory

There had been, no doubt, a great quantitative expansion, but the quality of education had greatly deteriorated We have already discussed how the permission to aided institutions to charge lower fees than those in similar Government institutions in the neighbourhood had led to the multiplication of inefficient private schools and colleges some of which worked only for profit. Criticisms to the effect that education was "lacking accuracy and depth," that the existing system was calculated to produce "mere machines of memory", that whatever crammed book-knowledge the students might possess, they generally had "neither original ideas nor the power of observing or judging for themselves"[1], etc , were not wanting The danger of over-production was pointed out by no less a person than Lord Lansdowne himself when he said, in 1889, "I am afraid that we must not disguise from ourselves that if our schools and colleges continued to educate the youth of India at the present rate, we are likely to hear even more than we do at present of the complaint that we are turning out every year an increasing number of young men whom we have provided with an intellectual equipment, admirable in itself, but practically useless to them, on account of

[1] Quoted by H R James *Education and Statesmanship in India*, p 63

the small number of openings which the professions afford for gentlemen who have received this kind of education"[2]

These voices of warning had gone unheeded with the result that Lord Curzon, at the beginning of the twentieth century, found the state of Indian education very unsatisfactory, indeed. He set out to reform matters not without a good deal of misunderstanding and opposition. In September 1901, Lord Curzon called a Conference of the Provincial Directors of Public Instruction at Simla and discussed with them all aspects of Indian education One can only guess what took place at this Conference because the proceedings were never published It caused much resentment among Indians While the missionaries were represented at this Conference, Indian educationists were excluded. The secretive nature of the Conference together with the exclusion of Indian educationists led to suspicion about the real motives of the Government.

Moreover by the close of the 19th century, the Indian people had begun to be conscious of their political rights and of the need of a national system of education The Indian National Congress had been founded in 1885, and through its efforts Indians were gradually becoming nationally minded and politically conscious Nationalist institutions like the D A V College, Lahore, Swami Shraddhanand's Gurukul at Hardwar, Rabindranath's Brahmacharyashrama at Shantiniketan and Mrs Besant's Central Hindu College at Banaras had already been founded for imparting through the medium of the people's own mother-tongue an education closely related to Indian culture A thoughtful section of the people had already become extremely critical of the new system of education and was voicing its discontent through the press and the platform In this atmosphere it was impossible for Lord

[2] H R. James. *Education and Statesmanship in India*, p 62

Curzon to effect any reform without taking the people of India into his confidence – a thing which he constantly refused to do and, in the words of J R Cunningham, "left education a battlefield"[3]

Indian Universities Commission, 1902

In January, 1902, Lord Curzon appointed an Indian Universities Commission "to inquire into the condition and prospects of the Universities established in British India, to consider and report upon any proposals which have been, or may be, made for improving their constitution and working, and to recommend to the Governor-General-in-Council such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching, and to promote the advancement of learning." When the appointment of the Commission was announced, it again contained no Indian representative The names of Dr. Gooroodass Banerjee and Syed Hassan Bilgrami were added only as a result of an after-thought. So Indians were as suspicious and critical of this Commission as they had been of the Simla Conference a few months before

Report of the Indian Universities Commission

The Commission briefly traced the history of the Colleges and Universities in British India and made the following important recommendations:

Teaching Universities

While the undergraduate students were to be "left, in the main, to the colleges," the Universities should "justify their

[3] *Modern India and the West* (edited by L S S O'Malley), p 166

existence as teaching bodies by making further and better provision for advanced courses of study." They were to appoint their own lecturers, provide their own libraries and laboratories, and have residential quarters for students from distant places. There was to be a Central College, under the direct supervision of a University, to which the affiliated colleges could send their advanced students for study and some of their best teachers for teaching.

English

Notwithstanding the prominent position given to English throughout the Secondary and University courses, the Commission found the results "most discouraging." "Students after Matriculation," the Commission said, "are found to be unable to understand lectures in English when they join a college. In some cases the difficulty is said to disappear after a short time. but it appears to be the case that many students pass through the entire University course without acquiring anything approaching to a command of the language, and proceed to a degree without even learning to write a letter in English correctly and idiomatically" The Commission traced the evil to the teaching of English in the schools and recommended "that the study of English should not be permitted to be begun till a boy can be expected to understand what he is being taught in that language, that the classes at schools should be of manageable size, and that teachers, whose mother tongue is not English, should be passed through a training college where they may be tested in expression and elocution by an Englishman before they are given certificates to teach" It was undesirable in the Commission's opinion to prescribe text-books in English at the Entrance Examination, because this led to cramming. The Entrance

course could be described in general terms, a list of books being given by way of illustration. The standard of degree examinations was to be raised so that students could not pass them merely by acquiring second and third-hand information through text-books, annotations or criticisms of literary works.

Classical Languages of the East

While the Commission realised "the need for a more careful study of vernacular languages", they were not in favour of allowing "a student to study a vernacular in substitution for a classical language", but preferred the plan of introducing a vernacular language combined with English as a subject for the M.A. degree The study of a classical language was valuable because it contained a rich literature, provided a good mental training and was helpful in the improvement of allied vernaculars Teachers of Sanskrit should have a critical knowledge of the subject and be acquainted with Western methods of study The standard of Arabic was very poor Graduates with Arabic as their second language were often unable "to make intelligent use of an Arabic dictionary or construe an unseen passage, much less write Arabic prose" Though the standard in Persian was better, the Commission were not satisfied "that the teaching of that language is as efficient or in as efficient hands as it might be." They were "of opinion that no graduate should have it in his power to take the higher or Master's degree in Persian alone" One of the other classical languages or Urdu was to be made compulsory in all such cases.

The Vernacular Languages of India

As already mentioned, the vernacular languages of India

were not to be "recognized as second languages side by side with allied classical languages for any of the University examinations above the Entrance" and they were to be introduced in combination with English as a subject for the M A. examination The M A examination in the vernacular was to be of "such a character as to ensure a thorough and scholarly study of the subject." The inclusion of vernacular languages in the M.A. course and the establishment of University professorships in them were bound to encourage their study. The Commission did not recommend to other Universities the practice of the Punjab where students could study for their Bachelor and Master of Oriental Learning degrees (equivalent to B.A. and M.A. courses on the English side) through the medium of Urdu.

Examinations

Although the Commission realized that "the greatest evil from which the system of University Education suffers in India is that teaching is subordinated to examination, and not examination to teaching", they regarded University examinations as a necessary evil and were not in favour of individual colleges holding their own examinations and conferring their own degrees They were also against the suggestion that the Intermediate Examination should be abolished, and one year should be added to the school course followed by a three-year degree course "We do not approve of the suggestion", they said, "that the student would gain by spending a year more at school if this involves his spending a year less at college"

The Commission wanted to discourage the practice of appearing privately at University examinations They said, "No private student should be admitted to the Intermediate examination, or to the examination for the degree of B.A

or B.Sc unless by a special order of the Senate, to be justified by reasons to be recorded in each case at the time of making the order." In order to popularise the School Final Examination which the Government had in contemplation, the Commission thought "that it would be of great benefit to the Universities if the Government would direct that a Matriculation Examination should not be accepted as a preliminary or full test of fitness for any post in Government service."

THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES ACT, 1904

Certain recommendations of the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 which referred to the constitutions and functions of the Universities were incorporated in the Indian Universities Act of 1904 Lord Curzon explained to the Legislative Council the main principles of the Indian Universities Bill as follows.

"Its main principle is . . . to raise the standard of education all round, particularly of higher education What we want to do is to apply better and less fallacious tests than at present exist, to stop the sacrifice of everything in the college which constitute our University system to cramming, to bring about better teaching by a superior class of teachers, to provide for closer inspection of colleges and institutions which are now left practically alone, to place the government of the Universities in competent, expert and enthusiastic hands, to reconstitute the Senates, to define and regulate the powers of the Syndicates, to give statutory recognition to elected Fellows who are only appointed on sufferance,. . to show the way by which our Universities which are merely examining boards can ultimately be converted into teaching institutions, in fact, to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham"

Some of the most important changes proposed were as follows:

According to Section 3 of the Act the functions of the Universities were enlarged so as to include also "the instruction of students, with power to appoint University professors and lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts.. .which tend to the promotion of study and research"

According to the existing Acts of Incorporation the Fellows of a University were to be appointed for life by the Government and the Senate could be of any size But the Indian Universities Act laid down that the Fellows of a University must number between fifty and hundred and that a Fellow could hold office only for five years.

The original Acts of Incorporation provided for no elective element in the University Senates, the whole of which was to be either ex-officio or nominated The Indian Universities Act of 1904 admitted the principle of election The older Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras could have 20 elected Fellows each while the rest could elect only 15 each. But even now 80 or 85 per cent of the members of a Senate were to be nominated by the Government.

According to Section 15 of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, "the Executive government of the University shall be vested in the Syndicate, which shall consist of —

a) the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman;
b) the Director of Public Instruction for the province .;
c) not less than seven or more than fifteen ex-officio or ordinary Fellows elected by the Senate or by the Faculties. ."

Adequate representation on the Syndicate was to be

given to the "Heads of, or Professors in, Colleges affiliated to the University."

The Indian Universities Act, 1904, sought to tighten University control over the affiliated colleges by providing for their periodical inspection by the Syndicates or their nominees and by making the conditions for the affiliation of colleges stricter Among the conditions of affiliation were that the governing body managing a college should be "regularly constituted," "the qualifications of the teaching staff and the conditions of their tenure of office" should be reasonable, the college and hostel buildings should be suitable, there should be due provision for a library, and, in case of any branch of experimental science, for "a properly equipped laboratory or museum", the college should have adequate financial resources and its scale of fees, because of an unfair competition with those of a neighbouring college, should not be injurious to the interests of education Before granting affiliation, the Syndicate was to satisfy itself on all these points by means of a local inquiry.

According to the former acts of Incorporation, the Senate of a University was authorised to make all regulations subject only to the approval of the Government. But the Indian Universities Act of 1904 provided that the Government could not only approve the regulations framed by the Senate but could also make such additions and alterations as might be necessary, and even frame regulations if the Senate failed to do so within a specified period

Before the Universities Act of 1904, two colleges in the same locality could be affiliated to two different Universities, but Section 27 of this Act laid down "The Governor-General-in-Council may, by general or special order, define the territorial limits within which, and specify the colleges in respect of which, any powers conferred by or

under the Act of Incorporation or this Act shall be exercised."

Critical Observations

Curzon's analysis of the defects of higher education in India was masterly He found "the monstrous and maleficent spirit of cram" dominating it. The sole aim of students was to pass examinations and qualify for employment. The teachers cared more for the pass percentages than for the moral and mental development of their pupils. J R. Cunningham has aptly summarised the defects thus. "Standards were everywhere in need of improvement—standards of teaching, of examination, of staffing, of accommodation, of equipment, of recognition, of affiliation, of control. Administration was in the hands of unwieldy bodies, the Senates, entrusted with their duties for life and chosen for every reason except that of educational fitness The Universities and their colleges were a mere conflict of jarring atoms."[4]

Curzon set about to reform these defects with a scornful attitude which antagonised those who could have been helpful To quote J. R Cunningham again, "Too scornful in his reprobation of what seemed to him unworthy, too little concerned to search out and develop what was sound and native to the soil in the systems and practices which he condemned, he fell far short of the achievement which might have been his had his temperament enabled him to win the sympathies of the people and enlist their co-operation in a congenial progress"[5]

Just as Wood's Despatch of 1854 sanctioned the establishment of Indian Universities on the model of London

[4] *Modern India and the West* (edited by L S S O'Malley), p 167
[5] ibid p 166

University, so too the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 thought of reforming Indian Universities on the model of the reorganised London University* which was now based on the following four principles.

(a) Every University ought to be a teaching University.
(b) No college should be allowed full privileges of affiliation unless it was thoroughly well-staffed and equipped.
(c) Teachers must always be intimately associated with the government of the University
(d) The Senate of a University should not be too large

These four features are reflected in the Commission's recommendations on organisational matters and in the Indian Universities Act, 1904, which was mainly based on them. As the Calcutta University Commission pointed out, the University Reform (1901-1906) did not aim at the fundamental reconstruction of the Indian University system. Indeed, "it assumed the permanent validity of the existing system in its main features and set itself only to improve and strengthen it."[6]

Gokhale, in one of his speeches, nicely summed up how Indian hope had been belied by Curzon's University Reform India expected "a liberal provision of funds for the encouragement of original research and of higher teaching, the institution of an adequate number of substantial scholarships to enable our most gifted young men to devote themselves to advanced studies, an improvement in the status and mode of recruitment of the Educational Service", but "instead of the measures we were looking for, we

* In 1898 an Act of Parliament had provided for the transformation of the University of London into a teaching University, while maintaining its system of examinations for external students

[6] *The Calcutta University Commission Report*, Vol I, Chapter III, para 68

were to have only a perpetuation of the narrow, bigoted and inexpansive rule of experts"[7]

Many Indians felt that by merely enlarging the functions of a University theoretically so as to include teaching work, nothing substantial could be achieved As Gokhale pointed out in another speech, it was "essentially a question of funds"[8] It was for lack of funds that Allahabad University had not been able to undertake any teaching work, although its Act of Incorporation allowed it.

It was also felt by many that the stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges and the provision for periodical inspection of affiliated colleges by the University were measures to tighten Government's hold on higher education in India, hardly calculated to encourage private effort in this direction As the Calcutta University Commission pointed out "The main result of the Act (i e The Indian Universities Act, 1904) was to make the control and supervision of the Government over University policy more direct and effective than it had hitherto been The Universities of India are, under the terms of the Act of 1904, in theory though not in practice, among the most completely governmental Universities in the world"[9]

It cannot be denied, however, that Lord Curzon's measures did bring about the much-needed administrative reforms in the working of the Universities and their affiliated colleges But to claim, as Lord Curzon did, that "out of them has been born a new life for higher education in India"[10] is fantastic The fact that within a period of fifteen years the need for another University Commission was felt belies Lord Curzon's tall claim. His measures

[7] *Gokhale's Speeches* (1920), pp 255-6
[8] ibid, pp 237-38
[9] *Report*, Vol 2, Chapter III, paras 76, 77.
[10] *Farewell Address to the Directors of Public Instruction*, quoted in *Modern India and the West*, p 167

were hardly calculated to correct even half the defects in higher education that he himself pointed out

The Progress of University Education 1901-17

The stricter conditions of University affiliation and the periodical inspection of affiliated colleges provided by the Curzon Reforms led to the elimination of a few weak colleges The following table taken from the *Eleventh Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*[11] (1932-37) is revealing.

Colleges in British India & their Pupils, 1901-17

Recognised Institutions	1901-02	1906-07	1911-12	1916-17
No of Arts Colleges in British India	145	136	140	134
No of scholars reading in them	17,651	18,918	29,648	47,135
No of Professional Colleges in British India	46	46	46	61
No of scholars reading in them	5,358	6,250	6,636	11,504

N B The returns of certain Indian States which used to be included in the Provincial Statistics were omitted from 1914-15 onwards.

There were, however, only a few real cases of weak institutions closing down because of their inability to conform to the standards required by the Universities. The changes in the number of affiliated institutions in other cases were more apparent than real during the Quinquennium (1902-07) Some were no colleges at all, but sent up candidates

[11] Vol II, pp 58-59.

for degree examinations occasionally and some were affiliated to two Universities. When their irregularities were removed, the number was bound to fall. The number of Arts colleges in 1917 is shown lower than that in 1912 not because of any real decrease but because of the fact that Arts colleges in Indian States that used to be included before 1914 were not included later

While there was an apparent decrease in the number of Arts colleges, the number of students reading in them constantly rose. Among the causes for this rise were the rapid increase in population, harder competition for jobs, increased effort of the Muslims to catch up with the Hindus, the traditional dislike of the Indians for labour or commercial occupations etc. Government effort to divert a large number of students into industrial or commercial occupations after the completion of the secondary school course was apparently not succeeding. So this increase in the number of college students can hardly be regarded as healthy

The working of the Universities and their colleges improved during this period partly because of Curzon's reforms and partly because of the fact that their financial position improved considerably. The examining and affiliating Universities of pre-Curzon days could meet all their expenses easily from the examination fees. So no grants were given to them, except an annual grant of about Rs. 30,000/- to the Punjab University because of its Oriental and Law Colleges. But in 1905, an yearly grant of 5 lakhs (for five years in the first instance) was sanctioned for the improvement of the Universities Grants-in-aid were also given to individual colleges The grants from the Government continually increased during the period under review with the result that Universities and colleges were able to spend more and more money. An idea of the increase in

expenditure on higher education during the period can be formed from the following table:[12]

DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON UNIVERSITIES, AND ARTS AND PROFESSIONAL COLLEGES IN INDIA

	1906-07	1911-12	1916-17
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Universities	10,38,312	15,87,470	25,51,925
Arts Colleges	30,67,006	47,98,574	71,03,748
Professional Colleges	16,59,887	22,52,998	35,99,418

Note: The sources of income include Government funds, District Board and Municipal funds, fees and other sources.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RESOLUTION, 1913

While acknowledging the good results of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, the Government of India Resolution pointed out that "the condition of University education is far from satisfactory in regard to residential arrangements, control, courses of study and the system of examination." The Resolution, therefore, again reviewed the whole question of Universities There were five Universities, at that time, with 185 Arts and Professional Colleges in British India, besides several institutions in native States The Government of India felt that while local teaching and residential Universities were desirable, India could not afford to dispense altogether with affiliating Universities They added, "it is necessary to restrict the area over which the affiliating Universities have control by securing in the first instance a separate University for each of the leading provinces in India and secondly to create new local teaching and residential Universities within each of the provinces

[12] *The Eleventh Quinquennial Review*, Vol II, p 60

harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency." They decided to found a teaching and residential University at Dacca and were prepared "to sanction under certain conditions the establishment of similar Universities at Aligarh and Banaras and elsewhere as occasion may demand." They also contemplated the possibility of "the conversion into local teaching Universities, with power to confer degrees upon their own students, of those colleges which have shown the capacity to attract students from a distance and have attained the requisite standard of efficiency"

The Government of India also wanted "to see teaching faculties developed at the seats of the existing Universities and corporate life encouraged, in order to promote higher study and create an atmosphere from which students will imbibe good social, moral and intellectual influence"

"In order to free the Universities for higher work and more efficient control of colleges, the Government of India are disposed to think it desirable (in provinces where this is not already the case) to place the preliminary recognition of schools for purpose of presenting candidates for Matriculation in the hands of the Local Governments and, in the case of Native States, of the '*durbars*' concerned, while leaving to the Universities the power of selection from schools so recognised."

The Resolution of 1913 is an important document in several respects While recognising the fact that we could not entirely dispense with affiliating Universities in a vast country like India, it stressed the necessity of "local teaching and residential Universities." Important colleges which had attracted students from distant places were to be developed into such Universities The area over which affiliating Universities had control was to be restricted by securing "a separate University for each of the leading provinces in India."

Again, while the Indian Universities Act vested the power of recognition of schools for the purpose of presenting candidates for the Matriculation Examination in the hands of the Universities, the Resolution of 1913 rightly thought that the power of preliminary recognition should be exercised by local Governments. This freed the Universities from unnecessary worries and saved the schools from direct interference.

The educational policy outlined in the Resolution of 1913 could not be carried out effectively because of the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 As a result of Indian participation in the war it began to be felt on the official side also that the time had come for political and educational reform, and for greater association of the Indians in the administration of the country. The Calcutta University Commission and the 'Montford' Constitutional Reforms were the obvious results of that feeling.

Before discussing the report of the Calcutta University Commission it is necessary to mention one or two events that took place before its report was published.

Banaras Hindu University was established in 1916. The initiative for its establishment came not from the Government but from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who secured liberal endowments from Hindu princes and other rich people. It was the first University of a communal nature, although admission to it had been thrown open to other communities also. It was also the first residential Indian University to make provision for direct teaching in different faculties up to the highest stage.

The Universities of Mysore and Patna were established in 1917. But the establishment of Osmania University at Hyderabad in 1918 was of special significance It made Urdu its medium of instruction and thus demonstrated that one of the Indian languages could be successfully used as the medium of instruction up to the highest stage.

Reform in Calcutta University began even before the Calcutta University Commission considered its problems. In 1917, post-graduate teaching was centralised under the direct guidance of the University and two departments of post-graduate teaching, in Arts and Science, were created The munificent gifts of 36 lakhs of rupees by two of its old students, enabled the Calcutta University to establish the University colleges and laboratories for higher studies and research in scientific subjects.

The Calcutta University Commission, 1917

The Government of India appointed, in 1917, the Calcutta University Commission with Dr. Michael Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, as its chairman. The Commission is, therefore, also popularly known as the Sadler Commission Although originally appointed for the reform of Calcutta University, the Commission made a thorough assessment of the entire University system in the country, Calcutta serving only as an example. So its report, published in 1919, is a document of all-India importance.

Position of University Education in Bengal

Although the Commission wrote about Bengal, its remarks were nevertheless applicable to the whole of India The most remarkable feature had been "the very rapid increase in the number of University students" during the preceding two decades "In 1904, 2,430 candidates presented themselves for the Intermediate Examination of the University of Madras, 457 for that of Bombay, and 3,832 for that of Calcutta . But the numbers in 1917 were 5,424 for Madras, 1,281 for Bombay, and no less than 8,020 for Calcutta." The flood of candidates had "put so heavy a strain

upon the University (of Calcutta) and its colleges as to lead almost to a break-down." The great majority of students preparing for University degrees (over 22,000 out of 26,000, in Bengal alone) "pursue purely literary courses which do not fit them for any but administrative, clerical, teaching and (indirectly) legal careers."[13]

The Commission found the University system itself, specially in Bengal, "fundamentally defective in almost every aspect" Some of its main defects were as follows:

1. The numbers were "too great to be efficiently dealt with" by the University.
2. The undergraduate courses of instruction in arts and science were given by colleges "generally too meagerly staffed and equipped to be able to do justice to their students, some of them being wholly, and most of them mainly, dependent upon the fees paid by the students – a source of income wholly inadequate for the purpose"
3. The courses of instruction were "too predominantly literary in character and too little varied to suit various needs", nor was "there adequate provision for training in technical subjects" The methods of instruction were "far too mechanical, depending upon mass-lectures" without adequate "individual guidance and advice."
4. The great majority of the teachers were "gravely underpaid" with "no legal security of tenure and next to no freedom in their work" The profession of a college teacher had "no prestige" and attracted "few men of the highest ability."
5. The system of government and administration of the University was "unsatisfactory and ineffective as an instrument for the encouragement of learning." While the University was unable to ensure the efficiency of

[13] *Calcutta University Commission Report*, Vol I, pp 19-21

its affiliated colleges, it exercised on them an "unduly rigid control which restricts their freedom of action and makes it difficult for them to show any independent initiative."

6 The University was "loaded with administrative functions, particularly in regard to the recognition of schools" which it could not adequately perform and which brought it into conflict with the Department of Education.

7. There was "far too much detailed Government intervention " in University affairs tending to undermine "the sense of responsibility of the University authorities."

8. University regulations were "unduly rigid and difficult to modify."

9. In spite of large expenditure and consistent efforts, the conditions under which the students generally lived were "deleterious to their health, morals and work" and there was "lack of that corporate spirit which constitutes one of the most educative factors in University life."

10 The usual practice of regarding University degrees "the sole formal credentials for public employment" made "too many of the students think of their University course not as a thing worth pursuing for itself or as a training for life, but for obtaining" jobs.

The Commission also pointed out the main defects of affiliating Universities which we have already discussed earlier. It made the following important recommendations in order to improve University education.

1 New Universities should be created, and the existing ones should be reorganised, as far as possible, on a unitary, teaching and residential basis The project for a unitary and residential teaching University at Dacca was to be immediately carried into effect.

2. Government interference in the academic affairs of the Universities should be reduced to the minimum.
3. Honours courses as distinct from pass courses should be instituted with provision for change from pass to honours courses and vice-versa. The duration of the degree courses should be three years after the Intermediate stage, "immediately in regard to honours courses and at an early date in pass courses."
4 "Appointments to professorships and readerships should be made by special selection committees including external experts."
5. "A small Civil Service Commission should be appointed .. ...
   a) To define the stage of educational attainment which should be required in the case of various groups of posts under Government,
   b) To conduct competitive tests among qualified candidates for such vacancies as may be announced, under such conditions as may be defined,
   c) To approve all appointments made by direct nomination in cases where that method of appointment is held to be desirable"
6 "For paying greater attention to the health and physical welfare of students, a director of physical training, holding the rank and salary of a professor should be appointed in each University." There should also be in addition "a Board of Students' Welfare, including medical representatives"
7. Because of the comparatively backward condition of the Muslim Community in regard to education, every reasonable means should be taken to encourage Muslim students, and to safeguard their interests
8. At each University there should be "a department of education under a professor of education assisted by an adequate staff" The subject of "education", was

to be included "(a) in one of the courses of study at intermediate colleges, and (b) in some of the groups approved for the B.A. degree."

9. There was a need for some arrangement "whereby the centres of traditional Oriental studies, while remaining distinct and undisturbed, should yet be brought into relation with the Universities, while at the same time Oriental studies on more modern lines are also cultivated in the Universities"

Besides these main recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission there are a few others including:

1. the institution of University chairs or readerships in the vernaculars and the introduction of the vernaculars among the subjects approved for pass and honours degrees, with a view to encouraging their more serious and scientific study,
2. the institution of technological courses and degrees suited to varying needs,
3. the holding of informal periodical conferences of the authorities of the different Indian Universities for the co-ordination of their curricula and courses and the discussion of matters of common interest

The Commission also suggested the reorganisation of the old form of University government through the Senate and the Syndicate. The Court, the Executive Council and the Academic Council were to be created for this purpose. There was to be a salaried and full-time Vice-Chancellor

With regard to professional and vocational training, the Commission felt that there was a great lack of opportunities for such training with the result that there was "the consequent overcrowding of courses of purely literary study" It was thought by many people that the popular prejudice against practical and technical subjects could be overcome if the Universities offered degree courses and examinations in them But training in nearly all vocational sub-

jects was costly and demanded elaborate equipment The Commission, therefore, held that the Universities should not define such courses "until there is a responsible assurance that the necessary provision of teaching and equipment is forthcoming." Indeed, the whole movement towards practical careers was likely to suffer a check, "if men are turned out in large numbers with an equipment of a kind for which there is very little demand." Again, "degree courses in technical and professional subjects, other than those for the established professions of medicine and law, are required by a comparatively restricted number of persons even in highly industrialised countries India did not need highly trained scientific experts so much as intelligent and educated men "whose training has given them some introduction to the sciences, at the base of their calling, but who cannot be called scientific experts" For this purpose "the system of intermediate colleges with their varied courses — each with some vocational bias though still general in character — must be of great value"

Critical Observations

The Calcutta University Commission Report is the most comprehensive and authoritative study of the Indian educational system from the Secondary to the University stage. It is, indeed, a veritable mine of information and suggestion for every student of Indian education It helped the subsequent development of higher education considerably. The older Universities were remodelled and the newer ones were incorporated on the basis of at least some of its suggestions

The Commission clearly realized the defects of affiliating Universities which brought about a system of education wherein teaching was completely divorced from examining. Common examinations demanded common curricula to

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which the actual teachers or the institutions affected contributed little. The needs of individual students and localities were completely neglected. Teaching was completely focussed on preparation for examinations.

Both the Indian Education Commission of 1882 and the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 had condemned the second-grade colleges, but the Calcutta University Commission in 1917 gave them the new name of Intermediate Colleges and made them the very basis of new educational reform. But their recommendations to transfer the control of the Intermediate Colleges from the University to the Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education were not carried out by many Universities. The new University Acts like those of Andhra (1926), Bombay (1928), Annamalai (1929), Patna (1932) permitted the Universities to control Intermediate Education. The separation of the Intermediate from the degree section of colleges was regarded as detrimental to both. The degree section was likely to lose much of its income, while the Intermediate section was likely to lose the services of competent teachers. Moreover, most of the Universities did not institute the three years' degree course, as recommended by the Calcutta University Commission.

The Commission admitted the failure of efforts to divert an adequate number of pupils into industrial or commercial pursuits after the completion of their secondary school course A large number of unsuitable students found their way to colleges. Many of these fell down by the way-side, but even those who could struggle through the University course were generally not contented Many of them could not find jobs adequate to their abilities or qualifications, and so they were filled with a sense of injury As the Calcutta University Commission pointed out· "It is impossible, also, not to recognise that a system which leads to such results must be economically wasteful and socially dange-

rous, and must in the end lead to the intellectual impoverishment of the country."[14]

Again, the Commission did not make even the least suggestion that the medium of instruction at the collegiate stage could be the vernacular language. Even at the High School stage some subjects were to be taught through the medium of English.

While commenting on the recommendations of the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 in the following words, "In 1902, as in 1857, the policy of London seemed to be the latest word of educational statesmanship," they were themselves guilty of the same charge. As Professor A. N Basu has pointed out:

"A perusal of the report of the Sadler Commission reveals how the Commission wanted the Indian system to be moulded in the pattern of the English system of Secondary, Collegiate and University education. In fact their recommendations closely followed the recommendations of the Haldane Commission on London University made only a few years back In India too we were to have 'University Colleges', 'constituent and incorporated colleges', 'Readers', 'Courts', 'Academic Councils' etc In India, too, halls of residence were to be set up and students were to be induced to become, as far as possible, residential members of the University In fact the new organisation of University education in this country was to be a close replica of the organisation suggested for English Universities"[15]

Communal tendencies were already in evidence as is clear from the efforts to establish Universities on a communal basis The Calcutta University Commission seem to have encouraged these tendencies still more They recommended that the Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Educa-

[14] Report, Vol 1, Chapter II, para 71
[15] A. N Basu· *University Education in India*, pp 78-9

tion were to include "at least three representatives of Hindu and at least three of Muslim interest."

Within a few years of the Calcutta University Commission Report, several new Universities came into existence—Aligarh in 1920, Lucknow in 1921, Delhi in 1922, Nagpur in 1923, Andhra in 1926, Agra in 1927 and Annamalai in 1929.

Among the newer Universities only Patna and Agra were purely affiliating, the rest were either teaching Universities or combined the function of teaching with that of affiliation. On this point the Hartog Committee remarked "It is clear, however, that the requirements of India cannot be met solely by unitary Universities, and that the affiliating University is likely to remain for many years to come In 1922, there were 152 affiliated arts colleges and in 1927 as many as 232 In India, the number of students in a unitary University must be relatively small, and the total numbers in the seven Universities which are more or less unitary—Allahabad, Banaras, Aligarh, Rangoon, Lucknow, Dacca and Delhi—are less than a sixth of those in the seven affiliating Universities (excluding Agra) They are equal only to the number in the Punjab University alone, much less than that of Madras, and less than half that of Calcutta"[16]

Organisation of Teaching and Research in Affiliating Universities

An important development was the assumption of the functions of teaching, specially in the higher ranges of study, and of the encouragement of research by the affiliating Universities of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Allahabad. They were reconstituted, Calcutta in 1921, Bombay in 1928, Madras in 1923 and Allahabad in 1921.

[16] *The Hartog Committee Report*, p. 122

UNIVERSITY STANDARDS

"By a careful investigation," says the Hartog Committee,[17] "the Calcutta University Commission came to the conclusion that the standard of the Calcutta examinations was unsatisfactory in 1917 There is no evidence of any improvement in Entrance standards between 1918-19 and 1924-25, yet the number of passes at the B A and B.Sc degree examinations rose in those years from 50 per cent. to over 70 per cent Clearly there must have been a lowering of an already low standard The fall in the percentage of passes from 70 in 1924-25 to 56 in 1925-26 and to 41 in 1926-27 indicates a definite recognition of the fact by the University authorities and a desire for a real advance"

About the influence of the Calcutta University Commission's recommendation on higher education Mr J R Cunningham[18] says "In the outcome Calcutta University remained unreformed, and the system of University and Secondary education in Bengal today is but little altered from what it was in 1904" except in two respects Dacca area had "a University and a school system of its own", and the Calcutta University had a post-graduate teaching department.

Again, "the University of Calcutta today is something much greater, for good or for ill, than the concourse of jarring atoms, presided over by the 'maleficent spirit of cram' which it seemed when it was first condemned"[19]

If this is true, the rosy picture of the educational progress painted by the 10th Quinquennial Review and its ecstasy are wholly unjustified.

[17] *The Hartog Committee Report*, p 134
[18] *Modern India and the West*, (Edited by L S S O'Malley), p 173
[19] ibid, p 174.

The Hartog Committee

The Hartog Committee did not discuss in any detail the problems of University education but contented themselves with mainly stating the existing condition of University education and its expansion since the Calcutta University Commission's Report. While agreeing with the Calcutta University Commission that the unitary Universities were better than affiliating Universities, the Hartog Committee felt that the special requirements of India would need the latter type for a long time to come. Higher teaching could only be carried on by affiliating Universities with efficiency and economy in places where there are adequate library and laboratory facilities or where they could be made available without extravagance. But where a concentration of higher work by a University was effected, care should be taken not to stifle the life and work of the better colleges at the centres.

The poor examination results showed that the Universities and affiliated colleges were burdening themselves with a large number of students on whom the money intended for University education was wasted. "And the mischief is not limited to the Universities, for University standards react upon those of the secondary schools which feed them. A low standard of University work means a low standard of school work."[20] A concentrated effort should, therefore, be made between the Universities and secondary schools to raise the standard of admission.

While approving of the institution of three years' Honours courses of a higher standard than degree courses, and of the tutorial system to supplement "mass lectures," the Committee did not like "the old tradition of constituting an Honours course merely by adding a few subjects to the two

[20] *The Hartog Committee Report*, p. 135.

years' course for the pass degree"[21] which practice still continued in some Universities.

While there was appreciable improvement in the sphere of secondary education as far as the average capacity of the body of teachers, their conditions of service and training, and the widening of the general activities of school life were concerned, the general craze for collegiate education of a purely literary type, and the immense numbers of failures at the Matriculation and University examinations *continued unabated. While some Universities had* enlarged their functions to include teaching and research work, "the theory that a University exists mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations still finds too large acceptance in India." The Hartog Committee wished "that there were more signs that the Universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant, and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions" The Committee also thought that the organisation of education needed "reconsideration and strengthening" at almost every point.

From the Hartog Committee to Independence

Like secondary education, higher education also expanded steadily. "The forces responsible for this increase are too complicated for analysis, but they certainly include the ever-increasing appreciation of the cultural value of University education, the social advantages of higher education, the absence of any avenues for high grade technical training and employment after the Matriculation stage, the persistence of the old belief in the ultimate relation of University degrees to public services, and the unrestricted admission to the law courses, which keep away from the

[21] *The Hartog Committee Report,* p 137.

young graduates the haunting economic realities for some time."[22]

The demand for higher education was not affected by the problem of unemployment among University graduates. "Bengal is faced with a tragic situation. While the problem of the educated unemployed is becoming increasingly acute, the University is flooding the province with an ever-increasing number of young men who are not merely unemployed but also often unemployable."[23]

The enrolment[24] in Arts and Science colleges and Universities increased from 76,216 in 1928-29 to 97,554 in 1936-37 and to 1,58,165 in 1946-47. The direct expenditure on Arts and Science colleges and Universities also increased from Rs. 2,84,80,261 in 1928-29 to Rs. 3,13,38,308 in 1936-37 and to Rs. 6,68,94,612 in 1946-47.

During this period a few Universities were also established—Travancore in 1937, Utkal in 1943, Saugar in 1946 and East Punjab and Rajputana in 1947. Of these Utkal and Rajputana were purely affiliating, while the rest also included teaching departments of their own

An Inter-University Board had been established as early as 1924 with the following purposes in view:

1 To act as an inter-university organisation and bureau of information;
2 to facilitate the exchange of professors,
3 to serve as an authorized channel of communication and facilitate the co-ordination of University work;
4 to assist Indian Universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees, diplomas and examinations in other countries,

22 The Nagpur University Review, quoted by the *11th Quinquennial Review*, Vol I, p 56.
23 *The 11th Quinquennial Review*, Vol I, p 64
24 Taken from *Education in Universities in India"*, 1947-48, pp. 62-63

5 to appoint or recommend where necessary a common representative or representatives of India at Imperial or International Conferences on higher education;

6. to act as an appointment bureau for Indian Universities, and

7. to fulfil such other duties as may be assigned to it from time to time by the Indian Universities

Under the auspices of the Inter-University Board the third Conference of Indian Universities was held in March, 1934 It resolved that "a practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to professions or to separate vocational institutions" in order to enable "the Universities to improve their standard of admission" In another resolution the Conference suggested that "with a view to effecting such improvement in secondary education and thus making possible a higher standard of University education, the period of study in a University for a Pass degree should be at least three years, although the normal length of the period during which the pupil is under instruction should not be increased and that this period should be divided into four definite stages (a) Primary (b) Middle (c) Higher Secondary and (d) University, covering five (or four), four (or five), three and at least three years respectively — there being a formal examination at the end of each stage only, thus avoiding the abuse of too frequent formal examinations"

As far as the first suggestion is concerned it was only a repetition of a suggestion which had all along been repeated ever since the Indian Education Commission of 1882 The second suggestion marks a departure from the policy recommended by the Calcutta University Commis-

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sion which had suggested a three years' degree course after the Intermediate stage. The third Conference of Indian Universities does not mean any addition to the total period of a student's instruction. The latter scheme was put into operation in 1943 in Delhi province, where the Intermediate stage was abolished and its one year was added to the school course and the other to the degree course Matriculates from other provinces and from some High Schools of Delhi itself, had to study for one year in a preparatory class before admission to the three-year degree course.

Another important event of the period under review was the Sargent Scheme of 1944 which also made the following observations and suggestions on Collegiate and University education:

(a) The Indian Universities of today, "despite many admirable features, do not fully satisfy the requirements of a national system of education."

(b) "In order to raise standards all round, the conditions for admission must be revised with the object of ensuring that all students are capable of taking full advantage of a University course" On the basis of experience in other countries, one in fifteen matriculates will be found fit for higher education in the Universities. "Adequate financial assistance must be provided for poor students"

(c) The present Intermediate course should be abolished. Ultimately the whole of this course should be covered in High School but as an immediate step the first year of the course should be transferred to High Schools and the second to Universities.

(d) The minimum length of a University course should be three years.

(e) The tutorial system should be widely extended and closer personal contacts established between teachers and students.

(f) The importance of establishing a high standard in post-graduate studies and particularly in pure and applied research should be emphasized.

(g) Steps should be taken to improve the conditions of service, including remuneration, of University and College teachers where those now in operation are not attracting men and women of the requisite calibre

(h) An Indian University Grants Committee should be constituted "to exercise a general supervision over the allocation of grants to Universities from public funds with the object of ensuring that Universities are in a position to meet the demands which may be made upon them." For any substantial or new development the Provincial or Central Government should make grants to the Universities through the University Grants Committee. The University Grants Committee was also to be empowered

"1. to encourage private benefactions,

2. to co-ordinate University activities with a view to avoiding overlapping and to adjust, so far as possible, the out-put of the Universities to the economic needs of the country,

3 to prevent undesirable competition between Universities, and to remove all inter-provincial barriers,

4 to visit Universities periodically with a view to ascertaining their needs at first hand,

5. to establish cultural contacts and to arrange for the exchange of teachers and students with foreign Universities"

(i) Approximately 2,40,000 places in the Universities, almost double the existing number, will have to be provided at a total annual cost of Rs 6,72 lakhs, of

which fees may provide 30 per cent., endowments 10 per cent., and the State 60 per cent.

Critical Observations

Forty-five years after the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, it became necessary to appoint a Commission in 1902 "to inquire into the condition and the prospects of the Universities established in British India." The Commission did not think of any fundamental reconstruction of the University system but wanted to make the existing system work more efficiently They certainly suggested that the Universities should also assume teaching as one of their functions, but the real problem, as Mr. Gokhale in one of his speeches pointed out, was that of finance Although the Incorporation Act of the University of Allahabad (1887) allowed the University to teach, yet this provision could not be taken advantage of for lack of funds.

The recommendations of the Government of India Resolution of 1913, those of the Calcutta University Commission, and the additional grants and private benefactions that became available, accelerated the growth of Universities and Colleges While no new University had been established during the period of thirty years between 1887 and 1916, during the subsequent period of about thirty years, i e, between 1916 and 1947, as many as 15 new Universities came into existence The older Universities were also reorganised so as to include teaching as one of their functions, while several of the new Universities were of the teaching type.

In spite of repeated suggestions to divert a large proportion of students, after the completion of their secondary education, into vocational or professional channels, and half-hearted attempts to do so, an inordinate proportion of

High School pupils continued to flock to the colleges and Universities, irrespective of whether they had the ability to benefit by higher education or not. As a consequence, the standard of University teaching has been very low and the percentage of failures at every University examination very large, indeed. The percentage[25] of passes at the Intermediate Arts examinations of Indian Universities was 41 in 1926-27, 49·9 in 1936-37, 53·7 in 1942-43 and 46 5 in 1946-47 Similarly the pass percentage at the B A (Pass) examinations was 66·5 in 1926-27, 52·1 in 1936-37, 53 8 in 1942-43 and 57 2 in 1946-47. Besides the great waste of time and energy entailed by such large numbers of failures, the social consequences of so much disappointment are very deplorable Again, many of those who did succeed in getting a B A. degree could subsequently find no employment Indeed, some graduates have been unemployable by reason of the poor quality of education they received at the Universities.

Besides the poor quality of the students that the Universities had to handle, there are other reasons for such low standards. The English medium has been a great stumbling block. This difficult language has sapped the students' energy and has made them barren of original ideas The fact that a few Indians, probably less than one per cent of the entire student population, have been able to master the language well, is no proof that the language is a suitable medium of instruction for Indian students. The plea that Indian languages are not well developed is again meant to avoid the real issue. These languages will develop only when they are used. That some Indian languages can be used as media of instruction at all stages without any lowering of standards has been well demonstrated by the Osmania University. I must make it clear that I am

[25] The figures have been taken from "*Education in Universities in India*" (1947-48), pp 66ff.

not against the study of the English language or literature, but only against the use of the former as a medium of instruction at any stage

Another reason for the low standard of teaching in the Universities and colleges is the poor quality of the general run of teachers While most of the first class M.A.'s have all along been able to find good administrative posts in Government departments, second or third class people have generally sought lectureships in Universities and colleges. Many people have sought a Ph D. degree after their failure at several competitive examinations of the Public Service Commissions so that they might become the heads of University or college departments. As they never had any love for research, they have stagnated ever afterwards Under their uninspiring leadership, their colleagues have also been content with only a careful coaching of students in facts and ideas for reproduction at University examinations, without any effort at the cultivation of the critical faculty. Someone has aptly said, "He who learns from one occupied in learning, drinks of a clear, running stream. He who learns from one who has learned all he has to teach drinks the green mantle of the stagnant pool."

It is true that some university teachers in India have done creditable research work and written good books on a variety of subjects But their number is extremely small, and most of their work is not comparable in quality to the work done by university men in England or America.

While it is true that our Universities and colleges are overcrowded with unsuitable students, it is not true to say that an inordinate proportion of the country's population has found its way into colleges and Universities India is very backward in this respect, as she is in several others. Writing in 1944, Professor A N Basu[26] gave the following interesting figures on the authority of Edward Bradby's

[26] *University Education in India*, p. 152

The University Outside Europe: "The proportion of University students to the total population, a few years ago was 1 to 885 in Great Britain, 1 to 333 in Canada, 1 to 333 in Newzealand, 1 to 273 in the United States of America, 1 to 517 in France, 1 to 576 in Hungary and 1 to 2,430 in India. In the pre-war Germany the proportion was 1 to 690 and in Russia it was 1 to 330. We may also note here that in Australia, for a population of 7 million, there are 6 Universities, in Canada about 20 for 11 million and in South Africa 9 for a white population of 2 million." So it is clear that in view of the large population of India, we do not have either too many Universities or colleges or too many students reading in them It is because of defective organisation and planning that there has been the anomalous situation of the unemployment of the educated in spite of the fact that even now only about 15% of the people are literate

Another serious defect of higher education has been that for lack of adequate number of scholarships many a young man of promise has been deprived of University education In a good system it is desirable that no promising young man should be debarred from higher education merely on the ground of poverty.

Throughout the British period the Government control on Indian Universities was very great, indeed The Calcutta University Commission in 1917 complained that Indian Universities were the most governmental Universities in the world While the Government were all along only too anxious to tighten their hold on the Universities for obvious reasons, they never came forward with adequate funds. During the years of the Second World War about a third of the expenditure of the Universities came from Government funds while nearly half came from the fees and the rest from endowments and other sources It is certainly true that private endowments have been too

few, but one of the chief reasons for their scarcity has been Government control. While the State should provide adequate funds and encourage by all means at its disposal private endowments and donations, it should leave the control of the Universities with regard to their administrative and academic affairs to their teachers themselves. The Vice-Chancellor of a British University is reported to have once said that although the Government paid a large part of the University expenditure, yet if they dictated whom to employ as teachers, what subjects to teach or how to teach those subjects, he would fling their money back into their faces.

The Universities in India significantly failed to bring about a synthesis of what the East and the West had to offer They mainly concentrated on what the West had achieved and almost entirely ignored ancient Indian culture, literature and philosophy. No system of education can be called national, if it entirely ignores the cultural heritage of the past.

But it is no use now complaining of the manifold defects of the University system in India Now that India is free and the country's destiny is in our hands, we must overhaul the entire system, retaining its good features and rejecting everything that has worked to the detriment of our people.

CHAPTER XX

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION
(*After Independence*)

State of Higher Education at the beginning of Independence

During 1948-49, the 25 Universities[1] in India had altogether, 229 departments and 643 colleges attached to them 16,224 teachers were imparting instruction to 2,95,263 students in these departments and colleges at a total cost of Rs 17,63,62,370 The output of graduates in Arts, Science and professional subjects was 46,664, and 52,821 students received certificates or diplomas in various subjects.

Independently of the Universities the following six Boards of Education were also functioning in the country:

1 Board of Secondary Education, Hyderabad,
2. Board of Higher Secondary Education, Delhi,
3 Board of Secondary Education, Madras,
4 Board of High School Education, Nagpur,
5 Board of High School and Intermediate Education, U.P.; and
6. Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Ajmer.

While the first four controlled the High School or Higher Secondary Education, the last two controlled the Intermediate Education as well.

During the year 1948-49 the Universities[2] in India

[1] All these figures have been taken from *Education in Universities in India*, 1948-49

[2] All these statistics have been taken from *Education in Universities in India*, 1948-49.

examined a total of 2,00,651 candidates for various examinations above the Matriculation as against 1,29,865 in the preceding year. The pass percentage for the year was 49·6 as against 53·2 in 1947-48 The total number of degrees awarded during 1948-49 was 46,664 of which 49 4 per cent. were awarded in Arts, 18·2 per cent. in Science, 2·2 per cent. in Agriculture and Forestry, 10 5 per cent in Commerce, 5·0 per cent. in Education, 3 4 per cent in Engineering and Technology, 7 3 per cent. in Law, 3·9 per cent. in Medicine, and 0·1 per cent in Veterinery Science.

Of the total income of Rs 15,70,80,832 of the Universities and their constituent and affiliated colleges in India in 1948-49, 39·9% (Central 6·4%, Provincial 22 0% and former States 11·5%) was contributed by the Government, 34 9% by the fees, 7·6% by endowments and 17·6% by other sources

From the facts and statistics given above the defects of the higher system of education that we inherited from the British are apparent. The university examinations still claim nearly half the total number of candidates as their victims, the Government contribution to the university income is still too small, the number of students offering agriculture, medicine, engineering and technology, education and such other useful subjects is yet insignificant.

One of the important developments in the sphere of University education during the first year of Independence was the proposal to reconstitute the University Grants Committee on the model of that in the United Kingdom in order to enable it to make enquiries and recommendations regarding "(a) the lines on which the Universities and institutions of higher learning should develop, (b) the grants-in-aid from public funds required by the Universities and (c) co-ordination of their activities to avoid unnecessary overlapping." As an immediate step, however, the jurisdiction of the University Grants Committee

was extended only to Technical Education in Provincial Universities. Large grants were made to the Centrally administered Universities of Delhi, Aligarh and Banaras

The question of the medium of instruction at the University stage was also considered by a Committee specially appointed for the purpose. It recommended in 1948 a five-year period of transition during which English would continue to be the medium of instruction and examination in the Universities. This period was to be utilised for the preparation of text-books and other necessary literature, so that at its close there would be no difficulty in the gradual extension of the regional or State language of the area as the medium of instruction and examination for higher studies by progressive steps. The English language was, however, to be a compulsory subject of study at the Secondary stage so long as it was the medium of instruction in Universities. The Universities were to provide facilities to students for taking up the Federal language and its literature as an optional subject of study. A test in the Federal language was to be obligatory for all students and for all candidates appearing at the Federal Public Service Examinations.

The Committee also recommended the appointment of a Board of Philologists and Scientists to prepare a common scientific terminology for all Indian languages within five years, making use of international terms as far as possible. The Centre was to provide a substantial sum for the purpose

On the advice of the Inter-University Board and the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Government of India appointed a University Education Commission under the chairmanship of Prof. S. Radhakrishnan for a thorough study of the financial and academic problems of the Indian Universities.

University Education Commission (1948-49)

The Commission was appointed by the Government of India "to report on Indian University education and suggest improvements and extensions that may be desirable to suit present and future requirements of the country." The Commission's terms of reference were very wide and included "the aims and objects of University education and research in India", "the constitution, control, functions and jurisdiction of Universities in India and their relations with Governments, Central and Provincial", their finance, "the maintenance of the highest standards of teaching and examination" and "a sound balance between the humanities and the sciences on the one hand and between pure science and technological training on the other", "the medium of instruction", the organisation and co-ordination of advanced research, religious education, the teachers' qualifications, conditions of service, salaries etc., and the maintenance of discipline among students.

Aims of University Education

After tracing the development of higher education in India the Commission discussed the aims of University education in an admirable manner "Democracy depends for its very life on a high standard of general, vocational and professional education." "Dissemination of learning, incessant search for new knowledge, unceasing effort to plumb the meaning of life, provision for professional education to satisfy the occupational needs of our society are the vital tasks of higher education." It should lead to that democracy visualized by our Constitution through the realisation of *Justice, Liberty, Equality* and *Fraternity.* The content of education must accept the best of what modern advancement has to offer but without neglecting our cultural heri-

tage from the past "No nation is healthy that parts company with its traditions. Social development is an organic process. The continuing influence of the past on the present cannot be ignored."

RECOMMENDATIONS

Teaching Staff

The importance of the teacher and his responsibility should be realized There should be four classes of teachers—Professors, Readers, Lecturers and Instructors besides some research fellows in each University. They should be properly selected, adequately paid in keeping with the given scales of salaries, and their promotion from one category to another should be made solely on grounds of merit The conditions regarding provident fund, leave, hours of work should be definitely laid down. The proportion of junior posts (Lecturers and Instructors) to senior ones (Professors and Readers) should be roughly 2 1.

Standards of Teaching

The standard of admission to the University courses should be the completion of 12 years' study at a school and an Intermediate college. There should be in each province a large number of well-equipped and well-staffed Intermediate colleges with other occupational Institutes into which pupils could be diverted after 10 or 12 years of schooling. The maximum number of students in Arts and Science faculties of a teaching University should be limited to 3,000 and that in an affiliated college to 1,500. Universities should organise refresher courses for high school and Intermediate college teachers. The minimum number of working days in the year should be 180, exclusive

of examination days and attendance at lectures should be compulsory for under-graduate students. No text books should be prescribed for any courses of study The lectures should be well-planned and supplemented by library work, written exercises and tutorials For successful tutorial work the teaching staff must be improved both in quality and quantity Small groups not exceeding six in number should come to the tutor who should aim at stimulating their mental development and not in coaching them for examinations The University libraries should have larger annual grants, the open access system, longer hours of work, better organisation and a well-trained staff The laboratories should also be improved in regard to buildings, fittings, equipment, workshops and technicians

Courses of Study Arts and Science

The Master's degree should be given to Honours students after one year of study beyond the Bachelor's degree, and to Pass students after two years beyond the Bachelor's degree To correct the extreme specialization which is common the principles and practice of general education should be introduced in our Intermediate and degree programmes The relation of general and special education should be worked out for each field with a view to developing the students' total personality and preparing them to play the role of good citizens.

Post-Graduate Training and Research

Teaching for the M A and M Sc degrees should be properly organised by means of regular lectures, seminars and laboratory work and the course should include advanced study of one special subject and training in methods of research While a Ph D. degree should be given after two

years' training to students who are not narrow specialists but whose knowledge is characterised both by breadth and depth, the D. Litt. and D Sc. degrees should be awarded on published work of outstanding quality and originality Each University should have a certain number of Research Fellowships for students who wish to pursue a career of scholarship and research after their Ph.D degree. Fundamental research should be the primary concern of Universities and the Government should encourage, by means of scholarships, research in all subjects, specially science.

Professional Education

(a) *Agriculture*

Agricultural education should be given a high priority by strengthening the existing agricultural colleges and setting up new ones Under the Indian Council of Agricultural Research an Institute of Agricultural Policy and new Post-University Research centres should be established.

(b) *Commerce*

A commerce student at a University must be given opportunities for practical work in three or four different kinds of firms.

(c) *Education*

The bulk of the Training College staff should have first-hand experience of school teaching. There should be suitable practising schools while the theory courses in Education should be flexible and adapted to local conditions. Only after some years of experience of teaching should students be allowed to proceed to a Master's degree in Education.

(d) *Engineering and Technology*

Existing engineering and technological Institutes in the

country should be improved and their numbers increased. The Faculty of Engineering should be called the Faculty of Engineering and Technology and workshop practice should be secured along with academic studies.

(e) *Law*

A thorough reorganisation of Law colleges and the institution of a three-year degree course in special legal subjects, the last year being devoted to practical work, were recommended.

(f) *Medicine*

Facilities for research in indigenous systems should be provided. Public Engineering and Nursing should be included among subjects of post-graduate study.

Besides these professions, the Commission also considered new professions like Business Administration, Public Administration and Industrial Relations.

Religious Education

Upholding the ideal of secular democracy for India and agreeing with Mahatma Gandhi "that religions as they are taught and practised today, lead to conflict rather than unity", the Commission did not approve of the teaching of any particular religion in state-controlled or state-aided institutions. They recommended for institutions a few minutes' silent meditation before starting their daily work. The lives of great religious leaders like Gautama Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster, Socrates, Jesus, Mohammad, Nanak etc., some selections of a universalist character from the great scriptures of the world, and central problems of the philosophy of religion should be discussed according to the standard of the class

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

In order to avoid the danger of exclusiveness, the Federal language should be developed by assimilating words from various sources and by retaining those already borrowed. International technical and scientific terminology should be adopted after modifications to suit the genius of our language.

While the pupils at High School and University stages should be taught through the medium of the regional language or Federal language, they should be made conversant with three languages—the Mother tongue, the Federal language and English The Devanagari script should be used for the Federal language Immediate steps should be taken to develop the Federal and regional languages by appointing a Board to prepare a scientific vocabulary for common use by all Indian languages and for translation of science books into Indian languages. Hindi should be introduced in all classes of Higher Secondary schools, in Colleges and Universities

EXAMINATIONS

Class work should be taken into account for success or failure in examinations; indeed, one-third of the marks allotted to each subject should be reserved for such work. More or less self-contained sections of three-year degree courses should be made the subject of periodical examinations spread over the three-year period. The minimum percentage of marks for a pass in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd divisions should be 70, 55 and 40 respectively There should be a *viva-voce* examination only for post-graduate and professional degrees A University degree should not be required for Government Administrative services but special State examinations should be held for the purpose.

Students, their activities and welfare

There should be the widest possible variety of courses at the first degree stage and there should be no discrimination in the matter of admission There should be a thorough medical examination at the time of admission and periodically thereafter There should be in every college National Cadet Corps units administered by the Centre. Social service should be encouraged on a voluntary basis. Reasonable standards for hostels, residence and corporate life, freedom of University unions from political activities and the maintenance of discipline by a Dean, were some of the other important recommendations.

Women's Education

There should be no curtailment in educational opportunities for women In co-educational institutions as much thought and consideration should be given to the life and needs of women as to those of men. Through proper educational guidance women should be "helped to see their normal places in a normal society, both as citizens and as women." They should "not try to imitate men," but should "desire as good an education as women as men get as men," by giving up "the prevailing prejudices against the study of home economics and home management"

Constitution and Control

The responsibility for University education should be shared by the Provincial and Central Governments, the concern of the latter being "with regard to finance, co-ordination of facilities in special subjects, adoption of national policies, ensuring minimum standards of efficient administration and liaison between Universities and

national research laboratories and scientific surveys, etc." A Central Grants Commission, helped by panels of experts in different branches, should allocate grants to Universities There should be no University of the purely affiliating type. University authorities should be classified as follows· The Visitor, the Chancellor (generally the Provincial Governor), the Vice-Chancellor, the Senate, the Executive Council, the Academic Council, the Faculties, the Boards of Studies, the Finance Committee, and the Selection Committees

FINANCE

The Government should recognise its responsibility for financing higher education and should contribute an additional annual amount of 10 crores for the development of University education. Income-tax laws should be amended to encourage donations for educational purposes.

UNIVERSITIES OF BANARAS, ALIGARH AND DELHI

The denominational character of Banaras and Aligarh Universities should be eliminated. As a Central University, Delhi should offer facilities for work to students from all over India. The medium of instruction in these Universities should be the Federal language, although for some six years to come instruction could be given in both the Federal language and in English.

NEW UNIVERSITIES

While establishing new Universities freedom should be given for pioneer work and experiment in educational methods. Vishva Bharati at Shantiniketan and Jamia Millia Islamia at Jamia Nagar, Delhi, should be given Charters

as Universities and suitable capital and recurring grants. In planning new Universities, both urban and rural, effort should be made to get as good a distribution as possible with reference to the total educational needs of the country.

Rural Universities

The vast population of the Indian villages has been scarcely touched by secondary or higher education, and it is high time that "new Universities aiming at extended educational opportunity to the great mass of rural India" should be established "with their own independent design and programme." The People's Colleges of Denmark can provide helpful guidance in the matter At one end of the span of rural education should be Basic schools and at the other rural Universities, the distribution of this entire span being as follows:

8 years for Basic education,
3 or 4 years for post-Basic or Secondary education,
3 years for college, and
2 years for post-graduate University work for the Master's degree.

The Commission also give the details of how rural institutions of higher education should be run. But unlike other sections, this section contains no concrete proposals about how the existing conditions could be changed to suit the types of institutions recommended for the higher education of the village people

Critical Observations

The report of the University Education Commission is the most authoritative and comprehensive document on the subject of University education in India that has been

published after the report of the Calcutta University Commission. As almost all the conclusions have been arrived at unanimously by the members, they must needs carry great weight.

The second chapter dealing with the aims of University education is very important indeed, and seems to have been conceived and written by Dr Radhakrishnan himself Now that India is free, the Universities must have a wider conception of their duties and responsibilities. "They have to provide leadership in politics and administration, the professions, industry and commerce. They have to meet the increasing demand for every type of higher education, literary, scientific, technical and professional They must enable the country to attain, in as short a time as possible, freedom from want, disease and ignorance, by the application and development of scientific and technical knowledge"[3]

While freely accepting the best that the West has to offer, we must not neglect India's cultural heritage of the past which should be critically studied. "We must be critical and selective and use the past to illuminate the present We should not give up the great values of our past nor should we cling to beliefs simply because they are ancient. We must accept so much of ancient thought as is sympathetic to us."[4] The Commission are alive to the dangers of a purely materialistic, or exclusively vocational and technical education "If we wish to bring about a savage upheaval in our society, a *raksasaraj*, all that we need to do is to give vocational and technical education and starve the spirit We will have a number of scientists without conscience, technicians without taste, who find a void within them-

[3] *Report of the University Education Commission*, Vol I, p 33.
[4] ibid, p. 56

selves, a moral vacuum and a desperate need to substitute something, anything for their lost endeavour and purpose."[5]

While the chapters on the Teaching Staff, Standards of Teaching, and Courses of Study are very good and make concrete suggestions for the improvement of higher education, the chapter on Religious Education does not appear to be so satisfactory. The value of spiritual and moral instruction in the building up of character is undeniable, but the real problem is how best it can be conveyed in a country like India where there are several religions. Formal lectures on the lives of great religious leaders, on the selected passages from the great scriptures of the world or even on the problems of the philosophy of religion are hardly any solution of the real problem

The Commission make an effort to restore the teacher to his rightful place in society. He must be respected by people and adequately paid in keeping with the financial resources of the country Good scales of pay are bound to attract the right type of people to the teaching profession.

The Commission rightly felt that the standard of teaching at the University stage cannot be materially improved without raising the level of Secondary Education. Besides improving the quality of teachers in Secondary schools, the students also must study for 12 years at a school and an Intermediate college before admission to the University. This measure comes into conflict with what had been recommended by the Sargent Report, namely, the abolition of the Intermediate class and the transfer of one of its years to the High Schools and the other to the Universities The latter scheme had been working successfully in Delhi province for about five years when the Commission was

[5] *Report of the University Education Commission,* Vol I, p. 66

appointed, and it is surprising that the system of Intermediate colleges which had proved a failure in the past has been recommended over again If after twelve years' study at a school and an Intermediate college the students are admitted to the three-year degree course recommended by the Commission, they will have to stay one additional year at the University, a proposition which may not be acceptable to the people at large.

The chapter on the Medium of Instruction also deals ably with a controversial subject. It recommends the adoption in Indian languages of the international technical and scientific terminology with such modifications as their phonic systems may require. The medium of instruction for higher education should be the regional language or the Federal language, and the students at the Higher Secondary and University stages are expected to study three languages—the regional language, the Federal language and English. The study of English is recommended at the High School and University stages "in order that we may keep in touch with the living stream of ever-growing knowledge" In order to maintain the all-India character of a University and to facilitate the exchange of teachers and students, it would be better if the Federal language were made the only medium of instruction at the University stage This will also help to co-ordinate the work of the Universities better and save the reduplication of effort involved in carrying on research work of the same type by several Universities

The Commission realise that the reform of the examination system is over-due. They rightly suggest that one-third of the marks allotted to each subject be reserved for work done during the course of instruction and that this be adopted forthwith in the teaching Universities for the B A and B.Sc., M.A and M Sc examinations. The methods devised in other countries to minimise the defects

of the essay-type examination and the subjectivity of marking should be carefully studied and all necessary precautions taken to see that marking is done under closely controlled conditions. But something must be done to minimise the excessive importance that is attached to examinations They should not be regarded as the be-all and end-all of all University education This mentality can be removed to a great extent, if a University degree is not insisted upon as a minimum qualification for even minor posts in administration or in business.

The Commission also rightly feel that University education should not be regarded as the sole responsibility of the provincial Governments, but it should be placed on the "concurrent list". The Centre should take the responsibility for "finance, co-ordination of facilities in special subjects, adoption of national policies, ensuring minimum standards of efficient administration and liaison between Universities and national research laboratories and scientific surveys etc" A Central Grants Commission helped by panels of experts in different branches should allocate grants to Universities

The Commission do not reject the modern University system established by the British and aim at re-organising it thoroughly in keeping with the needs, aspirations and the cultural heritage of the country. They aim at giving due recognition and help to national institutions like the Vishva Bharati and Jamia Millia which long remained outside the official University system "Each of them, so far as it meets the fundamental requirements of our Constitution for equal treatment and opportunity for all classes and communities, and so long as it maintains acceptable quality in its work, should receive grants-in-aid on a par with other recognised colleges and Universities, and should be given University status if that is desired "[6]

[6] *Report of the University Education Commission*, Vol I, p 548

Probably the most original idea in the whole Report is that of establishing rural Universities. Realizing that the vast rural population of India "has been scarcely touched by secondary or higher education except by the permanent withdrawal from village life of those able young people who have left the villages for the Universities," the Commission want "to create the types of educational opportunity which are appropriate to Indian rural life, and to give a quality and range to that life which will remove the disparity which is now a reality"[7] For this purpose they suggest the establishment of rural Universities "with their own independent design and programme" These Universities are to be the culmination of that national system which has the Basic schools as the foundation But it is unfortunate that the Commission should have put the whole chapter at the very end by way of a post-script, as it were It does not appear to be an essential feature of the system of University education, and moreover no concrete recommendations are given at the end of the chapter

In short, the University Education Commission Report is very comprehensive, covering almost every aspect of University education While retaining the fundamental structure of the University system introduced by the British, it suggests far-reaching reforms within that framework

A special session of the Central Advisory Board of Education was held on the 22nd and 23rd April, 1950 in Delhi to primarily consider the report of the University Education Commission The Board accepted most of the Commission's recommendations about the Teaching Staff, Standard of Teaching, Courses of Study, Post-graduate Training and Research, etc. While accepting all the recommendations of the Commission on the subject of the medium of instruction, the Board suggested the adoption

[7] *Report of the University Education Commission* Vol I, p. 575

of article 351 of the Constitution which reads as follows. "It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure this enrichment by assimilating, without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expression used in Hindustani and in other languages of India specified in the 8th schedule and by drawing wherever necessary or desirable for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."

As far as the Commission's recommendations about the Universities of Aligarh and Banaras were concerned, the Board accepted only one recommendation, namely, "that the denominational character of the University Court be eliminated and people of all castes and creeds be eligible for membership and provisions for religious education be made along the lines laid down under the head 'Religious Education'" With regard to the other recommendations made by the Commission in respect of Central and other Universities, the Board resolved that the Central Government should take up the matter with individual Universities and the States concerned and take such steps as may be necessary.

The Board accepted the Commission's recommendation that Vishva Bharati at Shantiniketan and Jamia Milla be given provisional charters as Universities and be given suitable capital and recurring grants. The Board also approved the recommendation of the Commission that special attention should be paid to the development of higher education in rural areas In the course of inevitable expansion of higher education in India, a fair proportion of the additional facilities should be directed to meeting the needs of rural areas.

Thus we see that the Central Advisory Board suggested

only minor changes in the University Education Commission's recommendations which were in the main approved. As University education is a provincial subject, the Board could not accept the Commission's recommendations about various Universities without consulting the State Governments. As far as the question of rural Universities was concerned, there were no concrete recommendations to accept or reject. The Board, therefore, stated a general principle that the rural population should share adequately the facilities for higher education provided in the country.

For lack of funds it has not been possible to implement fully the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission. But a beginning has been made with the Central Universities and the States are also gradually moving in that direction.

Clause No. 4 of the Gujarat University Bill was amended "to make it clear that the University will have the power to promote the development of Gujarati and Hindi in Devanagari script and their use as media of instruction, and examination" while providing that "English may continue to be the medium of instruction and examination for a period not exceeding ten years from the date on which section 3 comes into force in such subjects as may, from time to time, be prescribed by the statutes."

The University of Bihar has been established (1952) and has taken over the present affiliating and examining functions of the old Patna University which has been converted into a federal and teaching University. According to the amended constitution of the Patna University the Vice-Chancellor, who will be a whole-time paid officer, must be a teacher and the University teachers should teach only post-graduate classes According to an earlier decision of the old Patna University (which, I hope, will be accepted by the newly constituted University of Bihar) Hindi is to be the medium of instruction and examination

in subjects other than languages so that gradually by 1962 the entire teaching and examining at all stages of the University will be through the medium of Hindi

Even the Universities with a religious bias are showing a tendency towards secularism The Universities of Banaras and Aligarh already have the option to make religious studies compulsory only for the followers of a particular religion. Osmania University has replaced the faculty of theology with one of religion and culture Compulsory theology and ethics have been abolished and substituted by the regional or allied classical languages and by a "core course," on the American model, comprising the history of civilization for science students and a survey of general science for the students of arts

The University of Agra has also given the candidates for the B A and B Sc examinations the option to answer question papers in subjects other than languages in Hindi The candidates for the B A. and B Com examinations will also have to take one paper in Hindi.

The Calcutta University Act, 1951 has also been passed to provide for the re-organisation of the University according to the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission and the Radhakrishnan Commission. It envisages a widely representative Senate with a majority of teacher members, an Academic Council composed almost entirely of teachers and a Syndicate with only one official member. A whole time Vice-Chancellor and a permanent statutory grant of not less than 16 lakhs have also been provided.

Subjects like ancient Indian history, literature and culture have begun to evoke a keen interest among University men The University of Mysore has instituted a chair of Indology At a total cost of Rs 4,50,420 the Magadha Institute of research and post-graduate studies in Pali and allied subjects at Nalanda, and the Maithila Institute of post-gra-



duate studies and research in Sanskrit learning at Darbhanga have been founded.

Thus we see that in the sphere of University education also we have begun to move in the right direction and it is hoped that as the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission are implemented, we shall have Universities that fully meet the needs of modern India.

PART FIVE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL ASPECTS

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL EDUCATION

"In a land where only 120 people out of a thousand are literate the history of adult education is to be looked for in the future rather than in the past."[1] It does not seem to have been realised in India, till the very end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, that the appalling illiteracy of the people could be liquidated by any other means than by educating the children Up to the end of World War I there had been very little progress in India in the sphere of adult education There were night schools in the more advanced provinces of Bengal and Bombay run by school-masters for an extra allowance and attended by both children and adults. In Bengal, there were also some continuation schools attended entirely by adults The 'Co-operative Society' movement in rural areas had also begun to arouse people's interest in the cause of adult education.

As in the sphere of primary education so in the sphere of adult education the State of Baroda gave a lead to the whole of India It had public libraries as early as 1910 and a few years later it started travelling libraries also for the self-education of adults Soon after, library associations were formed in Andhradesa, Maharashtra and Bengal During the second decade of the present century other media of adult education at higher levels such as cheap

[1] *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, No 15, p 39.

newspapers and University extension lectures were fast gaining in popularity.

A praiseworthy effort in the direction of adult education was made by the Diwan of Mysore State about the year 1912 He started numerous night schools for village adults and established a net-work of circulating libraries throughout the State A magazine called *The Vignana* (Science) was also started to popularise scientific knowledge. But all these good schemes were abandoned one by one after the Diwan left the State.

With the awakening of political consciousness after World War I and the transfer of a certain measure of administrative reponsibility to Indians as a result of the 'Montford' Reforms, the movement for adult education gathered momentum The Punjab Government in 1921 inaugurated an intensive adult literacy campaign and its progress between 1922 and 1927 will be clear from the following table:

PROGRESS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB, 1922-27

Year	No of adult schools	No of scholars in them
1922-23	630	17,776
1923-24	1,528	40,883
1924-25	2,372	61,961
1925-26	3,206	85,371
1926-27	3,784	98,414

In 1922 there were 27 adult schools in Bombay maintained by the Central Co-operative Institute which had received a generous donation from Sir V. D. Thackersey These were circulating schools stationed at one centre for two years The classes were held in the afternoon for two hours and instruction was given to adults in the three R's, elementary general knowledge and co-operative accounting

In 1921 the U.P Government offered a subsidy to six municipalities for the development of a system of night schools for adults. In Bengal, besides 40 schools run by co-operative societies, there were about 100 continuation schools In the C.P, the Manager of the Express Mills ran seven schools for the adults of the depressed classes with the help of the local Y M C A About the year 1924 the Government of Travancore began to give a grant-in-aid to those night schools (for adults) which gave instruction to 20 to 40 students for two to three hours daily for at least 100 days in a year The course lasted two years and comprised instruction in the 3 R's, hygiene, first-aid and history

Between 1927 and 1937 there was a uniform decline in adult education in India owing to economic distress, political disturbances and communal bitterness In the Punjab, for example, the enrolment in adult schools fell from 98,414 in 1927 to only 5,000 in 1937[2] But two interesting experiments were tried in the Punjab during this period Teachers in normal schools were encouraged to interest themselves in the work of adult education and libraries were attached to rural middle schools to serve as cultural centres for checking relapse into illiteracy, and for providing convenient meeting places where lectures on various useful topics could be delivered to the village people Bombay alone showed some progress in the field of adult education between 1932 and 1937 The number of adult schools rose from 143 in 1932-33 to 180 in 1937 and their enrolment from 5,660 to 6,299. Greater government interest and better organised activities by other agencies were responsible for this progress in the face of great financial stringency.

During the period of financial distress in the thirties some missionaries and individuals made praiseworthy efforts in

[2] *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs,* No 15, p 39

the cause of adult education in India A
Mr S G. Daniel by name, devoted sever
in Tanjore to instructing men and women
lar text-books for children and adults
Allahabad also wrote many booklets in
to serve as follow-up literature for adults.
were sporadic and individual and served
of inspiring other workers in the field.

About the year 1935 the Travancore G
to give annual grants to private rural
Libraries and reading rooms were als
primary schools of the education dep
Government budgeted a sum of Rs. [illegible]
taining 80 such libraries. The Travancore
acted as a sort of central headquarters for
which paid to it a small annual affiliation

of adult education to a great degree Dr. Laubach was an American missionary whose method of teaching adults had been very successful in the Philippines He applied his method to Indian conditions also and has given a detailed description of it in his book called "*India Shall Be Literate.*" During his third visit between 1938 and 1939, (in the words of Dr Laubach himself) "More than forty thousand people attended 226 conference sessions in forty-two leading centres from Colombo to Kashmir and Assam to Bombay"[3] In the U P, the Hon. Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit made an appeal to the people saying, "I appeal to every educated man and woman to take a vow to make at least one person literate." The Governor, the Speaker of the U.P. Assembly and other prominent leaders set the example by signing a pledge to teach at least one person within a year or pay Rs. 2/-. Half a million other people signed the pledge

The state of adult education in India in 1938-39 will be clear from the following table:[4]

SCHOOLS FOR ADULTS, 1938-39

Province	No of schools	Enrolment
Madras	12	771
Bombay	673	22,095
Bengal	967	28,152
United Provinces	2,689	82,590
Punjab	146	5,201
Bihar	130	2,772
Central Provinces & Berar	43	1,714
Assam	13	505
North-Western Frontier Province	—	—

[3] *India Shall Be Literate*, p 11

[4] Government of India Report on Education for the year 1938-39, quoted also in *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, No 15 p 44

Province	No of schools	Enrolment
Sind	28	659
Orissa	1	26
Coorg	—	—
Delhi	18	230
Ajmer-Merwara	13	268
Total	4,733	1,44,983

N B. The figures in this table refer to regular schools for adults and do not include 'classes' started for adults at various centres.

"In 1939 the Adult Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education made a few recommendations on adult education, some of the most important ones being the following.[5]

a) "Efforts should be directed in the beginning to persuade illiterates voluntarily to undergo instruction. If a voluntary system fails to achieve its object, ways and means of bringing pressure to bear on illiterates should be explored."

b) "The form in which instruction is given must be intelligible and interesting to the student and the instruction itself should be closely related to his occupation, his personal interests and the social and economic conditions under which he lives"

c) "Boys under twelve years or those attending a full-time day school should not be encouraged to attend evening classes. If necessary, separate classes should be organised for boys between twelve and sixteen."

d) "The possibility of making a period of social service obligatory on all students in Universities and pupils

[5] The recommendations are also given in detail at the end of the chapter on Adult Education in the *Sargent Report*, 1944

in the upper forms of High schools should be carefully examined" In the meantime an appeal was also to be made "to all educated persons, and in particular to Government servants, ,to render voluntary service in connection with the literacy campaign"

e) "Mechanical aids to learning such as the radio, the cinema, the gramophone and the magic lantern can be used with great effect in adult education."

That during the short-lived regime of the Congress Ministries adult education made rapid strides is clear from the following table:[6]

Year	No of schools for adults	No. of students
1936-37	1,287	36,649
1937-38	1,547	45,696
1938-39[7]	4,603	142,211
1939-40	5,974	172,539
1940-41	6,407	185,340

The resignation of the Congress Ministries was followed by the British war effort on two fronts, against the Indian Quit-India movement inside the country, and against the Axis powers outside it The momentum gained by the adult education movement declined, and there was no marked progress in any province till the year of Independence. The number of adult schools in 1946-47[8] had declined to 5,988 with 165,637 students

When the successful conclusion of World War II was in sight, the Central Advisory Board of Education brought out in 1944 a comprehensive plan of "Post-War

[6] Compiled from *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1936-37 to 1940-41

[7] The figures for this year are slightly different from those given in the preceding table

[8] *Statistical Abstract* for 1946-47

Educational Development in India," popularly known as the Sargent Plan Among the most important recommendations of the Sargent Plan on Adult Education are the following:

1. "Although the main emphasis in the beginning may be placed on the liquidation of illiteracy, adult education in the full sense must be provided for those already literate. The amount of this should progressively increase as illiteracy disappears
2. Even with the introduction of a universal system of Basic Education there will be over 9 crores of illiterates (age group 20-40) to be dealt with So adult education should be regarded as complementary to the free and compulsory system of primary education. Plans should be made to solve the problem of adult education within a period of twenty years, the first five years being devoted to the training of teachers and other necessary preparations
3. The responsibility for adult education must rest with the State but every effort should be made to enlist the aid of *suitable voluntary organisations* wherever available.
4 Comprehensive arrangements on the lines set out in the Adult Education Committee's report should form an integral part of any national system of education"

The proposals of the Sargent Plan were estimated to cost "a little less than Rs 3 crores" during the entire period of twenty years needed for the complete liquidation of illiteracy. But for financial reasons the Sargent Plan has not yet been put into operation

Progress After Independence

With the attainment of freedom, it began to be realised more than ever before that the achievement and main-

tenance of a secular democracy to which the country had pledged itself was impossible without an educated electorate. One of the chief aims of the newly formed Ministry of Education became the education of adults. The Minister of Education in the Foreword to the first number of the *Education Quarterly*[9] said, "Of the tasks which immediately confront us, two are of pre-eminent importance. They are the provision of universal Basic education for all children of school-going age and of Social education for adults who have not received the benefit of literacy." The objectives of adult education were enlarged so as to include not only instruction for literacy but also the education and welfare of the grown-up people in other respects, in order to make them intelligent citizens and efficient workers. The term "Social Education" has come into general use in place of "Adult Education" to indicate the wider scope of the subject.

In his inaugural address to the UNESCO Seminar on Rural Adult Education held in December 1949 in Mysore, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad explained the meaning of 'Social Education' as follows. "By 'Social Education' we mean an education for the complete man It will give him literacy so that the knowledge of the world may become accessible to him It will teach him how to harmonise himself with his environment and make the best of the physical conditions in which he subsists It is intended to teach him improved crafts and modes of production so that he can achieve economic betterment It also aims at teaching him the rudiments of hygiene both for the individual and the community so that our domestic life may be healthy and prosperous. The last, but not the least, this education should give him training in citizenship so that he obtains some insight into the affairs of the world

[9] Started by the Ministry of Education in March, 1949

and can help his Government to take decisions which will make for peace and progress"[10]

According to the Bureau of Education Pamphlet No. 58 on Basic and Social Education, "Social Education may be defined as a course of study directed towards the production of consciousness of citizenship among the people and promotion of social solidarity among them It has three aspects, namely,

a) The introduction of literacy among grown-up illiterates,
b) The production of an educated mind in the masses in the absence of literary education,
c) The inculcation of a lively sense of rights and duties of citizenship, both as individual and as members of a powerful nation."

The work of Social Education gathered momentum once again when in 1949 the Central Advisory Board of Education adopted the following twelve-point programme[11] of Basic and Social Education, specially for Delhi province.

1 "The village school will be a centre of instruction, welfare work, sports and recreation for the entire village.
2 Separate times will be allotted to children, adolescents and grown-ups
3 Certain days in the week will be reserved exclusively for girls and women
4 A number of motor vans fitted with projectors and loud-speakers are being secured to visit the village schools Films and magic lanterns will be shown and recording of talks played It is proposed that each school will be visited at least once a week.
5. Schools will be provided with radio sets and arrange-

[10] Report of the Seminar has been published by the Ministry of Education, Government of India

[11] *Education Quarterly*, March, 1949, pp 40-41

ments will be made for broadcasting special programmes for school children, adolescents and grown-up people in the light of the scheme of Social Education sketched above About 140 sets have already been provided by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and more will be supplied as soon as possible

6 Popular dramas will be organised in the schools and from time to time prizes given for the best plays produced.

7 There will be provision for teaching national and community songs.

8. Arrangements will be made for giving simple instruction in some craft or industry suited to the locality

9 Lectures will be arranged in co-operation with the Ministries of Health, Agriculture and Labour to instruct villagers in the simple laws of social hygiene, methods of agriculture, cottage industries and co-operative activities.

10. In co-operation with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting suitable films and slides will be shown from time to time. Arrangements will also be made for visits of public men to speak to the villagers on problems of national importance. The help and assistance of public bodies interested in constructive work will be invited to give effect to the programme of Social Education.

11 Arrangements will be made for organising group games Competitions will be held from time to time between different schools and villages.

12 Periodic exhibitions, fairs, and excursions will be organised."

The same year a Conference of Provincial Education Ministers was summoned for the purpose of considering the implementation of the scheme given above. The Confer-

ence met in New Delhi in February, 1949 under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The Conference accepted the proposal of the Government of India that of the sum of Rs 1 crore earmarked by the Centre for Social Education, Rs 10 lakhs may be reserved for Central activities and the remaining Rs 90 lakhs should be distributed among the provinces in proportion to the number of illiterates in them Each province was to submit the first three years' scheme of its five-year Social Education programme and was to contribute an amount equal to the Central subvention during that period of three years Other suggestions of the Conference included the revision by the provinces of their own schemes of Social Education so as to bring them in line with the scheme approved by the Conference, an examination by them of the value of museums as agencies of Social Education, an investigation by the Universities of the desirability of mobilizing students for literacy work, the setting up of circulating libraries in the provinces, the inclusion of the theory and methods of teaching adults in the courses of training colleges and the encouragement by the Government of India of the use of visual aids through their adequate provision

In Delhi the scheme of Social Education has been in operation for several years now In 1949, many centres of Social Education were established and the Adult Education Department of Delhi Municipality also made arrangements for the training of social workers In 1950, the Education Department, Delhi, introduced a novel set of audio-visual aids, aptly named the Caravan, consisting of four vans, one to serve as a mobile stage, another as a moving cinema, and the remaining two as exhibition vans The Caravan is self-sufficient, being fitted with microphones for public lectures, electric generators, projectors, etc. It has been touring the 300 villages of Delhi Province, holding

three-day educational *melas* at one centre after another. A Janata College has also been started at Alipore in Delhi with the object of training local leaders for rural areas Theoretical and practical instruction is given there in agriculture, cottage industries, health, town-planning, civics etc.

The financial help from the Centre enabled the various States to intensify their Social Education campaigns. In 1950, the State of Madhya Bharat had 4,398 centres of Social Education with 8,284 classes, 7,134 for men and 1,150 for women 1,21,045 adults appeared at the Adult Education Certificate Examination out of whom 75,834 men and 16,300 women were declared successful. Intensive Social Education courses of five weeks' duration were also organised in numerous summer camps. Social Education work was also extended to factory labourers

The State of U P started numerous "continuation classes" for adults and adolescents who left school at about the age of 14 years These included the teaching of some art or craft also In 1950, 65 Social Education camps were organised during the summer vacations Volunteers in these camps taught the villagers and did other types of uplift work A refresher course was also organised to train 50 supervisors and *kamdars* of the Cane Development Department in agriculture, co-operation, compost making, tree plantation, improving cattle wealth and Panchayat Raj

Almost every other State has its own programmes of Social Education; Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Orissa, Ajmer etc have all made notable progress in this direction.

For reasons of space it is not possible to give the details of the plans of all the States Some of their main characteristics may, however, be mentioned.

In Bihar institutions rather than individuals have been

entrusted with the responsibility for running the Social Education centres.

West Bengal has emphasized recreational activities such as travelling theatres, folk dancing, *yatras*, *bhajan-mandalis*, and *kirtans*

Madras organises camps for the training of teachers and for imparting further education to youth leaders There is also a system of libraries.

Bombay introduced in 1945-46 the Compact Area Scheme under which a compact area of a suitable size was placed in the charge of a special officer whose duty it was to see that about 1,000 adults were made literate every year in his area In 1946-47 the Scheme was worked out in 19 areas including one for women 763 classes were held with an enrolment of 21,349 adults of whom 3,786 were women The same year there was another scheme of Home Classes for women in urban areas Boys were asked to prepare lists of illiterate women and to teach them reading and writing in their homes. Madhya Pradesh has attacked the problem of adult education on a big scale by employing the technique of camps for the purpose of mass education

Uttar Pradesh gave an intensive course of ten months' training to graduates—four months being spent on Social Education and the rest on social work including adult education.

Although after Independence we enlarged the scope of adult education by giving it the new name of Social Education and by including in it much more than mere literacy, although we drew up a comprehensive 12-point programme of Social Education for Delhi by way of a model programme for other States, we have been able to produce significantly very little suitable literature for our neo-literates so that they may not relapse into illiteracy. Some sporadic, but laudable, efforts have been made by private institutions like the Idara Taleem-O-Tarraqi

(Department of Adult Education), Jamia Millia, Delhi, to bring out a large number of interesting and instructive pamphlets for the benefit of adults. But unless the problem is systematically tackled by both the Central and State Governments, adequacy in this respect cannot be achieved. The Central Government, however, is becoming increasingly conscious of this problem

At its meeting held at Trivandrum, in January 1951, the Central Advisory Board of Education resolved that a Committee for the production of Social Education literature should be formed. This Social Education Literature Committee met in New Delhi in January 1952 for the first time. Mr. K G. Saiyidain who could not be present because of indisposition, in a message emphasised the importance of suitable literature for adults:

"The work of Social Education is greatly handicapped—both at its literacy stage and in its wider sense—by the paucity of suitable reading materials, graded to appeal to the adults. There is urgent need for producing large numbers of booklets, folders, charts, journals, newspapers, wall papers and other illustrated materials which will capture the adults' interest and imagination by their selection of materials. In this field there is not only room for every considerable improvement in the kind of things that are being produced today but also for inter-State co-operation in order to avoid overlapping and pool available resources in talent and finance."[12]

The meeting made a few recommendations to encourage writers to enter the field of Social Education:

(a) Social Education authorities should watch writers in the market and encourage good ones to write books and pamphlets through competitions,

[12] *Proceedings of the 19th Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India* (published in March, 1952), Appendix C (d).

(b) They should give prizes for the best books published every year,

(c) They should ask officers in service or teachers in Universities and schools to compile, write or translate books on suitable subjects,

(d) They should purchase a number of copies of such books published by private firms,

(e) The State Library Associations wherever they existed were to draw up bibliographies of existing Social Education literature and social service workers were to be requested to make suggestions about the subjects on which Social Education literature was needed

The Central and State Governments were to draw up their own plans for bringing out Social Education literature during 1952-53 in the light of the recommendations made above by the Committee

In April 1952 the Ministry of Education, Government of India, called a conference of eminent educationists to discuss the subject of producing suitable reading material for neo-literates Many useful suggestions were made and the Conference agreed that there was need for the following types of literature:

(a) Daily news-sheet,

(b) An illustrated fortnightly or monthly which would contain material on sports, health, hygiene, agriculture and world news,

(c) Graded primers,

(d) General literature for adults, and

(e) Guide books for teachers

Some State Governments have already drawn up their programmes of producing suitable literature for adults Recently the Delhi Public Library was established and its Director requested the teachers of the educational institu-

tions of the country to write suitable booklets on various subjects for the neo-literates.

Critical Observations

The interest in Social Education shown recently by both the Central and the State Governments deserves all praise It is also now almost universally admitted that literacy as the aim of adult education is too narrow. Since the country has decided to be a secular democracy, the education of the vast illiterate masses for intelligent citizenship and efficient work for their different occupations has become very necessary An illiterate and ignorant electorate is a greater danger to a democracy than any attack from outside It is unfortunate, however, that the Government of India, in their First Five-Year Plan have expressed their inability "to accept any large measure of responsibility for Basic and Social Education in the country as a whole" Unless adequate funds are made available, no national scheme of education for a country like India can be successful. But it is a source of satisfaction to us that both the Central and State Governments are not only making increasing efforts to educate the illiterate masses of our country but they are also doing something for the continued education of the neo-literates

CHAPTER XXII

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

THERE existed in the first half of the 19th century a few crafts schools specially run by the missionaries for training their poor Indian converts in carpentry or smithery to enable them to earn their living. There were no industrial or technical schools for training workers for modern organised industries The Despatch of 1854 for the first time realised the need of giving the people an education of "such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life." But nothing seems to have been done in the subsequent thirty years, so that the Indian Education Commission of 1882 had to recommend that a secondary school course should be introduced which would fit boys for industrial or commercial careers The Government of India accepted this recommendation and suggested that drawing and the rudiments of science should be taught in all but the most elementary schools and that the study of natural science and the cultivation of the faculty of observing and reasoning from observation and experiment should be encouraged.

In spite of these suggestions, nothing was done by the Government for the promotion of Technical education in India during the 19th century. As the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18, pointed out, "The non-existence of a suitable education to qualify Indians for posts requiring industrial or technical knowledge was met by the importation of men from Europe, who supervised and trained illiterate Indian labour in the mills and factories that were started From this class of labour it was impossible to obtain the higher type of artisan capable of supervisory

work"[1] The needs of the Public Works and other Government Departments, however, led to the establishment, between 1856 and 1858, of four engineering colleges at Roorkee, Poona, Madras and Calcutta, offering degree courses in Civil, Mechanical and Electrical engineering, besides diploma and other courses for lower grades of employment in Government and other engineering departments Later, more engineering colleges were established at Banaras, Lahore, Karachi, Patna, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Trivandrum and several other places

"In their resolution of the 18th June 1888, on the subject of Technical education, the Government of India pointed out that the education hitherto provided had been too exclusively literary in its bent, that industrial training was required in view of the necessity of securing a greater variety of occupations, and that Technical education could be provided with advantage at once for industries which had already reached a comparatively advanced stage of development, such as the textile and engineering industries, though the danger of establishing a system of training for those insufficiently advanced was noted The necessity of giving a more practical bias to general education was emphasised, and Local Governments were invited to take action in these directions The immediate results were negligible, but the necessity for science teaching in the colleges affiliated to the Universities was recognised, and the provision for the technical training of engineers was greatly improved"[2] The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay, was founded in 1887, mainly through private effort, to provide courses of instruction suited to the requirements of the growing Bombay mill industry

During the last decade of the 19th century there was an insistent demand for Technical education in the country

[1] *Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, para 135
[2] ibid, para 138

At almost every annual session during that period, the Indian National Congress pointed out the need for the promotion of Technical education In 1898, it prayed that "having regard to the poverty of the people, and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of Technical education, and set apart more funds for a better and more successful working of the same"[3]

As a result of all this agitation towards the close of the 19th century, the Government of India decided early in the 20th century to send selected Indians to Europe and America for Technical education The Government of India Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904, said, "The first call for fresh effort is now towards the development of Indian industries, and especially of those in which native capital may be invested Technical instruction directed to this object must rest upon the basis of preliminary general education of a simple and practical kind, which should be clearly distinguished from the special teaching that is to be based upon it, and should, as a rule, be imparted in schools of the ordinary type . . As a step towards providing men qualified to take a leading part in the improvement of Indian industries, the Government of India have determined to give assistance in the form of scholarships to selected students to enable them to pursue a course of Technical education under supervision in Europe [illegible] America"

The resolution also mentions the existence of 123 [illegible]trial schools in the country teaching 48 trades [illegible] pupils and points out their chief defects "A [illegible]tion of the pupils who attend them have [illegible] practising the trade they learn but pass [illegible] other employments using the industri[illegible]

3

to obtain the general education which they could acquire in ordinary schools at less cost to the State, but at greater cost to themselves" The resolution promises to remedy these defects by making a more careful selection of pupils for these industrial schools

Between 1905 and 1917, one hundred and thirteen scholarships of £.150 a year each were given to candidates for Technical education abroad. In 1917 this scheme of scholarships was revised. Preference began to be given to those who had aptitude for an industry and possessed suitable academic qualifications. Arrangements were also made for scholarship holders to do practical work in India before proceeding to England. Preference was to be given to industries like the textiles, mining, pottery, tanning, matches, glass, sugar, pencils and paper; while law, medicine, forestry, veterinary science, agriculture, etc., were excluded

In the meantime, Indians began to demand that technological institutions should be established in India to obviate the need of going abroad. This demand was partly met by the establishment between 1921 and 1937 of a number of technical institutions such as the Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad, the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Kanpur, and the School of Chemical Technology, Bombay But these efforts were too inadequate to meet the needs of India and so students continued to go abroad in large numbers for technical studies According to the *Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in India*, 1932-37, there were "220 Indian students receiving training in various branches of engineering and technology in the Universities and colleges in the United Kingdom and Eire" alone. The inadequacy of the provision for Technical education in India was clear from the fact that "even in the comparatively highly industrialized province of Bombay, there were in 1941-42 only 264 graduates in the faculty of

Technology, 192 in Engineering, 20 in Chemical Technology and 52 in Agriculture, the total number of graduates being 5,100."[4]

With the coming of Independence it has come to be increasingly realised that if the economic development of the country is to take place and the standard of living of the masses is to be raised, adequate provision for Technical education in India should be made. "Expansion and development of facilities for Technical education is the sheet-anchor of all plans of economic development"[5]

THE POSITION IN 1950

Post-Graduate Training

Both in the range of subjects and the number of institutions, the facilities for advanced technical training were extremely limited There were only five institutions in the country providing Technical education of post-graduate standard While only one institution offered post-graduate courses in Aeronautical Engineering, Metallurgy, Internal Combustion Engineering and lower Engineering, two did so in Chemical Technology and in Applied Physics. Most of these post-graduate courses had been started fairly recently and the Departments were generally in a formative stage.

Under-Graduate Training

There were 26 Engineering colleges in the country offering degree courses in Civil, Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Recently, courses in Chemical Engineering were organised in four institutions, in Electrical Communication Engineering in two institutions, in Metallurgical Engineering in one institution and in Highway Engineering

[4] *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, No 15, p 54
[5] *The Education Quarterly*, September, 1950, p 91

in one institution. The development of facilities for training in other technological subjects had not kept pace with engineering subjects. There were only eight first-grade institutions in the country teaching technological subjects up to the degree standard — three of them offering courses in Chemical Technology, one each in Ceramics, Glass, Pharmaceutics, Metallurgy and Leather Work, two in Mining and three in Textile Technology.

JUNIOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Junior technical training courses seek to give necessary academic training to potential overseers, foremen, chargemen and other categories of supervisory personnel. Nearly 50 institutions distributed all over the country were engaged in imparting instruction up to the diploma or certificate standard in a fairly wide range of subjects such as Automobile Engineering, Radio Engineering, Textile Technology, Sanitary Engineering, Fisheries, Navigation, Cinematography, Sound Engineering, Food Technology, etc.

Most of the institutions suffer from a lack of equipment, or of adequate accommodation, or of adequate staff or of all the three. While established institutions have increased their intake without being able to expand their physical facilities correspondingly, new institutions have not been able to build, equip and staff quickly for lack of funds. Moreover the teaching staff of almost all the institutions are burdened with routine teaching and have little time for research

Until recently, the development of Technical education in India had been unco-ordinated, each institution, having absolute freedom to reorganise and conduct whatever course of training it chose In 1945 an All-India Council of Technical Education was established:

1. to survey the whole field of Technical education in consultation with State Units;
2. to consider all immediate projects for the development of Technical education, and
3 to conduct preliminary investigations with a view to ascertaining the conditions on which the authorities in control of existing institutions would be prepared to co-operate in all-India schemes

This Council set up six Boards of Technical Studies in the main branches of Engineering and Technology and the latter have framed courses, full-time and part-time, to meet the requirements for different categories of personnel for the development of industries, for the execution of various national reconstruction projects of Governments, Commerce, etc A Scientific Manpower Committee was appointed to assess the needs of the country in technical personnel

The following table gives an estimate about the country's need during the next ten years and the anticipated outturn on the basis of existing resources.

Category	No required Senior Grade	No required Junior Grade	Anticipated outturn Senior Grade	Anticipated outturn Junior Grade
Engineers	25,250	28,700	16,300	18,000
Architects	310	—	90	—
Chemists & Chemical Technologists	6,560	3,990	4,790	1,140
Physicists	3,300	220	2,050	—
Metallurgists	1,090	150	580	—
Glass & Ceramics Technologists	320	340	300	90
Textile Technologists	780	950	340	1,270
Fuel & Furnace Technologists	310	—	—	—
Leather Technologists	350	450	110	250
Geologists and Geophysicists	1,420	—	410	—

Category	No. required Senior Grade	No. required Junior Grade	Anticipated outturn Senior Grade	Anticipated outturn Junior Grade
Mathematicians & Statisticians	1,560	60	1,210	—
Botanists	900	—	610	—
Zoologists	1,430	—	720	—
Biologists	680	—	100	—
Agricultural Scientists	2,640	610	8,730	1,290
Dairy Technologists	700	—	180	520
Nurses	32,510	—	500	—
Science teachers & unclassified Scientific & Technical personnel	2,02,740	—	—	—

Thus we see that there are wide gaps between the requirements for scientific and technical manpower and the existing resources The Government of India have plans to bridge these gaps An *ad hoc* committee under the chairmanship of Mr N. R Sarkar was appointed to examine in detail the technical problem confronting the country The Committee recommended the establishment of four Regional Higher Technical Institutions, on the lines of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The Eastern Institution has already been established at Hijli, 70 miles from Calcutta. When fully developed, this institution will provide for training and research in a wide range of subjects, catering for 2,000 under-graduate students and 1,000 post-graduate students and research workers. Steps are also being taken to develop the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and the Delhi Polytechnic, at great cost. The Government of India also have a scheme for improving the non-government institutions at a cost of Rs. 15 million non-recurring and Rs. 2.7 million recurring The Scheme also envisages giving an interest free loan of

Rs 3.8 million to the institutions for the construction of hostels for students.

In order to provide facilities for practical training, the Government of India also have a comprehensive long range plan under consideration, including the following measures

a) Facilities will be provided in Government Technical Departments for the industrial training of the artisan type of personnel, the supervisory or foreman type of personnel and the executive type of personnel.

b) Facilities for practical training of various grades and categories will be organised in all factories and industrial establishments under Government supervision

c) The trainees will be paid adequate wages or stipends.

d) Both Industry and Government Departments will make arrangements for the training of fresh graduates as executive officers.

e) Foreign firms supplying industrial machinery, plant and equipment will be required by the terms of their contracts to provide facilities for training a suitable number of Indians in their workshops

Generous grants have been given to a few selected Universities, on the recommendations of the Scientific Man-power Committee for the development of post-graduate and research training facilities in scientific and technological subjects, as well as for the establishment of Departments like Geophysics for which adequate facilities are not available in the country Fifty senior and one hundred and fifty junior research scholarships were also awarded during 1949-50.

The All-India Council for Technical Education recently appointed a Committee for the purpose of examining the question of training in Industrial Administration and Business Management and to prepare a scheme for organising facilities for such training in the country. The Committee submitted a report for the eastern region of the country

with reference to the facilities to be provided at the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur. Some of the important recommendations of the Committee were as follows:

a) Students of engineering, technological and commercial courses should be introduced to management subjects for a year or two at the undergraduate stage,
b) A post-graduate department of Industrial Administration and Business Management should be set up as an organ of the Institute of Technology, Kharagpur with the object of training men in industrial engineering, business management and industrial administration for occupying responsible administrative and mangerial positions in industry and commerce.
c) Short term refresher courses in management subjects should be arranged for the benefit of junior executive officers and labour leaders.
d) Selected Universities should also have part time day and evening courses in management subjects for junior executives working in business and industry

Regional Committees

The constitution of the four regional committees of the All-India Council of Technical Education and demarcation of the regions for each committee have been finalised. One of the main functions of these regional committees will be to bring about close co-operation between industry and educational institutions within their respective regions. Such co-operation will lead to a twofold benefit (i) to the organisation of courses really useful for the development of industries and (ii) to the organisation of apprentice-training of engineering and technological students in industrial concerns

In recent years technical institutions in the country have been expanding their activities considerably. At the Indian

Institute of Science, Bangalore, a Power Engineering Department has been started and a High Voltage Laboratory has been set up under a German expert. The Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, is proposing to start the following new courses from the session 1952-53:

i) Agricultural Engineering,
ii) Communication Engineering;
iii) Workshop Technology;
iv) Transport Engineering;
v) Naval Architecture,
vi) Architecture and Town Planning, and
vii) Geology and Geophysics.

It is also proposed to make provision for research in

a) Fuel Technology,
b) Technical Gas,
c) Reactions with special reference to high pressure, and
d) Study of high Polymers and Synthetic Resins.

Delhi Polytechnic has been affiliated to the University of Delhi for the degree course in the following subjects:

i) Commerce,
ii) Chemical Engineering,
iii) Electrical Engineering.

For the improvement and expansion of the existing technical institutions in the country the Government of India made in 1952-53 a grant of Rs 21·1 lakhs non-recurring and Rs 6 60 lakhs recurring with a provision for further grants of Rs 15·69 lakhs non-recurring and Rs 14 76 lakhs recurring. Grants have also been made to some 12 Universities for the development of their post-graduate research departments in the various branches of science.

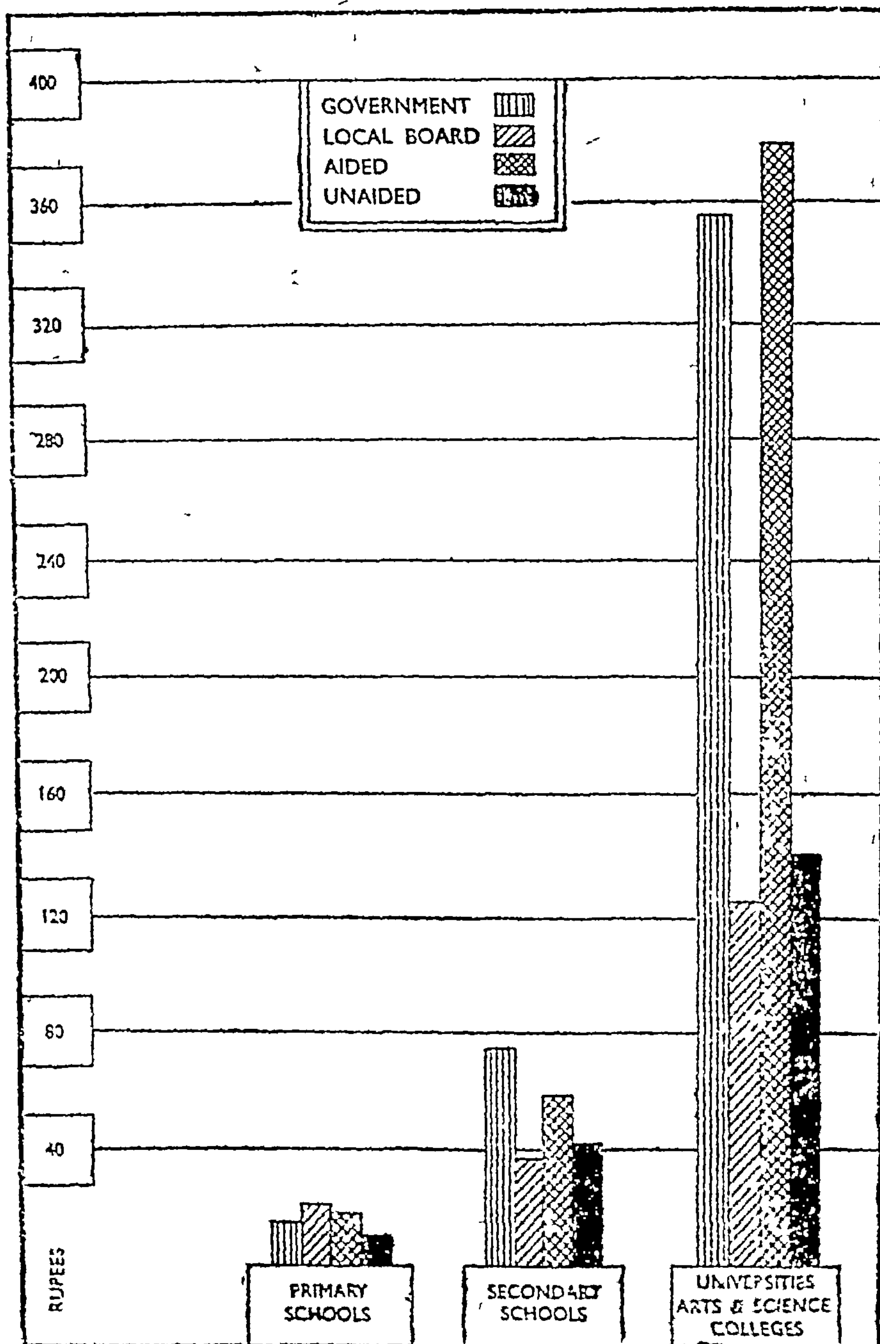
Critical Observations

The efforts of the British for the promotion of Technical education in India did not go beyond their immediate

needs for the efficient administration of the country. They wanted overseers for the construction and maintenance of public buildings, roads, canals and ports, and artisans and craftsmen for the use of instruments, apparatus needed for the army, navy, and the survey departments. While superintending engineers, foremen and artificers were recruited from England, arrangements were made in India for the training of craftsmen, artisans and sub-overseers. But as the needs of the country expanded and it became impossible to recruit all technical personnel from abroad, engineering colleges had to be started in India. The achievement of the British effort in the sphere of Technical education can best be summed up in the following words of the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission.

"We find that in most cases (i e., in most technical institutions) the equipment is insufficient, the staff small and underpaid, and the courses of study too few and stereotyped. The yearly output of engineers is too small in comparison to the demands of the country, growing out of the various schemes of industrialisation and development undertaken by the Government. It is 1/40 of that of the U S A and 1/3 that of England. Post-graduate training and research are virtually non-existent, and the present system is incapable of producing engineer scientists, or design and development engineers who can plan and execute large schemes."[6] Fortunately, however, our national Government is conscious of the fact that without the advance of technical education the economic development of the country is impossible. It is making efforts to remedy the defects that we have inherited from the British

[6] *Report of the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission*, Vol I, p. 255



Cost of Education per student in Institutions for General Education 1948—49

CHAPTER XXIII

PHYSICAL AND HEALTH EDUCATION

IT is wrong to imagine that the ancient Indians entirely ignored physical activities in their search for the highest spiritual welfare. The need for constant fighting against the aborigines kept the martial spirit of the early Aryans alive "Swordsmanship, riding, running, jumping, wrestling, use of the bow and arrow and of the spear, and hunting were common practice"[1] When later the caste-system emerged, these activities became the special concern of the Kshatriyas who had to be always prepared for military emergencies, while the other castes kept fit by the very nature of their daily round of duties. In the Epic Age military training remained generally confined to the Kshatriyas, although very often their teachers in the art of warfare were Brahmins who had attained fame in the use of different weapons of war. Young Kshatriya princes won beautiful brides at *Swayamvaras* by performing some outstanding feat of strength or skill Reference to many tournaments in various martial skills and military events are found throughout the epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. But in course of time the peaceful and settled life of the Aryans and the enervating climate were bound to have their effect on their physical activities. Between B C. 1,000 and B.C 242, the ascetic ideal with its wrong notion that there is antagonism between the body and the soul came to prevail and caused a set-back to the people's full physical development. But Buddhism condemned the ascetic ideal and denied that *Nirwana* could be attained by the mortification of the body. As a result of this, in

[1] C F Andrews *Physical Education for Boys in Indian Schools*, p 3.

the great Universities of Taxila and Nalanda, swimming, wrestling, shooting arrows, hill and mountain climbing and breathing exercises were also regarded as essential. Poor pupils generally rendered the Gurus every kind of service. They drew water from the well, cut wood, and did many other things for the Gurus. All these activities entailed considerable amount of physical work

Physical Education was at a very low ebb at the time of the advent of the Europeans "The causes were possibly to be found in famine, poverty, disease, internecine wars, defective diet, early marriage, purdah system, ascetic ideals for the body, and associated social and religious customs."[2]

During the 18th century the British East India Company did not accept any measure of responsibility for the education of the Indian people Even when the system of Western education was introduced in the second quarter of the 19th century and it was placed on a systematic footing by Wood's Despatch of 1854, hardly any attempt was made to introduce physical training in schools.

Probably the first attempt to include Physical Education in the school curriculum was made in Madras in 1875 when the Director of Public Instruction mentioned the introduction of MacLaren's system of gymnastics in schools He also admitted that no public funds were then available for Physical Education and that the organisation of athletic sports and cricket was the result of private effort.[3] During the last quarter of the 19th century, MacLaren's system of gymnastics was introduced in other parts of India also. Drill and calisthenics with marching were also introduced during this period, but because of the artificiality of their nature, the boys did not enjoy them and found one excuse

[2] J. Henry Gray *The Development of Physical Education in India* quoted by C F. Andrews: *Physical Education for Boys in Indian Schools*, p 12

[3] See C. F Andrews *Physical Education for Boys in Indian Schools*, p 13.

or another for absenting themselves from these drill classes. The drill instructors also "had no idea of psychology, of anatomy and physiology or of educational principles of teaching, with the consequence that physical training became a subject of dislike and hatred in schools – openly mutinied against by the boys and tolerated by the Headmasters and other teachers in the schools"[4]

During this period team games also became popular. But while the few players of these teams were encouraged, the needs of the rest of the boys of the school were neglected. Indigenous exercises were also tried, but did not become popular because of their artificial activities.

During the first quarter of the 20th century the Y M C A. in India introduced a new era in Physical Education With the establishment of the Y.M C A. College of Physical Education, Madras, a new interest was created in Physical and Health Education in Indian schools. The directors of Physical Education trained by this college have gone to every part of India They have introduced free play, hygienic drill and exercises and games like volley-ball, and basket ball and have evolved a method of combining the indigenous exercises and games with western exercises and games.

In the third decade of the 20th century, the importance of Physical Education came to be generally recognised all over India There were plans in Baroda and elsewhere to make Physical Education compulsory for school children In 1937, the Government of Bombay appointed a Physical Education Committee which defined the ideal of Physical Education as follows:

"The ideal of Physical Education is not merely to build up a powerful and healthy body, but also to evoke and foster those personal and civic virtues in pupils which would make them better citizens whether they choose to

[4] C F Andrews *Physical Education for Boys in Indian Schools*, p. 14.

be civilians or soldiers in their after life. Leaders of Physical Education all over the world now recognise the closest association of the body and mind, and have come to the conclusion that the education of one cannot be divorced from the education of the other ....According to this ideal, therefore, Physical Education and intellectual education are *complementary to each other* and must be integrated in such a way as to form an organic whole."[5]

Another Physical Education Committee was appointed in Bombay in 1945-46 It reiterated the ideals of Physical Education laid down by the 1937 Committee and made far reaching recommendations about the reorganisation of Physical Education in the Province. It recommended the improvement of the Institute for Physical Education, Kandivali, and the institution of a Faculty of Physical Education in the University of Bombay with provision for post-graduate research in the subject. It also recommended that a College for Physical Education should be established and short term courses for primary and secondary school teachers should be conducted by the Government to meet the great shortage of teachers of Physical Education. Among the most important of its recommendations about the position of Physical Education in schools were the following:

1 Physical Education should be included among the compulsory subjects given in the Grant-in-aid code of the Department of Education.
2. Physical Education should have the status of a major subject and be allotted a daily period of at least forty minutes.
3 Schools must procure playgrounds within a stipulated time, failing which recognition should be withdrawn.

[5] *Report of the Physical Education Committee*, 1937 (Bombay).

4. Schools must have in their neighbourhood a minimum of 3 acres of playground for the first 250 students and additional land at the rate of 1½ acres for every next block of 250 students.
5. Intra-mural and extra-mural competitions should be organised for all pupils.
6 There should be co-ordination between class-room teaching and Physical Education
7. Camping should form an essential part of the school programme No pupil should be allowed to complete the secondary school course without completing at least one month of camping.
8. Secondary schools should have a gymnasium of their own to carry on Physical training during the monsoon, and to promote certain types of activities conducted in an indoor setting.
9 Facilities should be provided for washing and changing after Physical Education.
10. A provincial Inspector of Physical Education should be appointed with his office attached to the office of the Director of Public Instruction He should be assisted by three Physical Education Inspectors in each district, one of them being a woman.
11. Activities of a military type involving strict discipline, toughening and daring should be included in the Physical Education Programme for boys of the upper classes of the secondary school.
12 Junior Cadet Corps and School Volunteer Corps should also be organised
13 The health of the school child was to be maintained through lessons in health and hygiene, proper nutrition, and regular medical examinations and the maintenance of a record of each child's health.
14 A Board of Physical Education was to be established

to advise the Government on matters relating to development and administration of Physical Education.

The Central Advisory Board of Education also realised the importance of Physical Education In its plan of Post-War Educational Development in 1944, it recommended that Physical Education in schools through drill and organised games should be provided. "Every secondary school should have a fully trained physical instructor, and his appointment should be made a condition for a grant-in-aid"

Its recommendations on the subject of the School Medical service were as follows:

1. The purpose of the school health service was "to prepare the child for education and for citizenship." "Where children are sick and defective, its business is first to ascertain what is wrong and then to ensure that the right treatment is available; where they are in normal health, its business is to give a training in physical activity and in the principles and practice of hygiene, which will make the fit better"
2. In India "probably fifty per cent of the children attending schools would be found to require medical attention or medical observation" Hence too much attention cannot be given to the subject.
3. There should be three routine medical examinations—"(a) on entry into a primary school at approximately the sixth year, (b) at the eleventh year and (c) at the fourteenth year." For secondary school children when leaving at the age of seventeen a final examination is desirable.
4. A medical record should be maintained for each child, which should go with the child when he goes from one school to another.
5. A scheme for medical inspection without provision for treatment and follow-up is of little or no use Schemes for treatment must include provision for sup-

plementary nourishment. Special arrangements will be necessary for treating dental defects, tonsils and adenoids and for correcting the more serious defects of vision and hearing.

6. All children should be given a mid-day meal, whether it is brought from home or provided at the school
7. Attention should be paid to personal and environmental hygiene. "The practice of personal hygiene by school children depends largely on the example set by the teacher."

In May 1948, the Government of India set up a Committee of twelve members on Physical Education with Dr. Tara Chand as its ex-officio chairman. Among its chief recommendations about Physical Education were:

"1 Establishment of training centres of Physical Education in the provinces of the country to increase the supply of trained teachers of Physical Education;
2 Creation of organising and inspecting staff in each province, as has been done in Madras, Bombay, U.P. and West Bengal;
3. Constitution of Boards or Councils of Physical Education in the provinces for the purpose of advising the Governments in matters concerning Physical Education;
4. Organisation of Sport Clubs, Gymnasia and *Akhadas*. These are cited and commended as agencies for the creation of interest in games, sports, and exercises, with special reference to the many *Akhadas* or indigenous gymnasia which foster and encourage Indian games and exercises,
5 Financial support by the Governments;
6. Programme of work."[6]

[6] Summarized in the *Radhakrishnan University Education Commission Report,* Vol I, p 358

The Physical Education Committee also recommended the establishment of a Central Institute of Physical Education:

(1) to train teachers of Physical Education for Centrally Administered Areas;
(2) to teach advanced courses leading to specialization in various fields of Physical Education, e.g. Organisation, Administration and Recreation,
(3) to provide facilities for research in Physical Education,
(4) to train coaches for athletics, games and sports,
(5) to train leaders of play and recreation,
(6) to publish literature pertaining to Physical Education and recreation.

National Cadet Corps

A very important development after Independence has been the establishment of the National Cadet Corps by an Act of the Government of India (1948). The aims as set out by the Corps Directorate are:

"(a) the development of leadership, character, comradeship, and the ideal of service;
(b) the stimulation of interest in the defence of the country to the widest possible extent."

The Cadet Corps is being recruited in three Divisions.

1. The Senior Division, which is recruited from amongst the students of the male sex of any University;
2. The Junior Division, which is recruited from amongst the students of the male sex of any secondary school, and
3 The Girl's Division, which is recruited from amongst the female students of any University or secondary school.

The National Cadet Corps has its peace time values also.

"It inculcates discipline in an impressive way in that it teaches self-control and poise, the co-operative spirit, the ability to give and take orders, and above all, a sense of responsibility and formation of character. There are many by-products, among which are the ingraining of habits of bodily hygiene and standards of sanitation."[7]

The N. C. C is proving very popular with the students all over India. The strength of the Senior Division in 1948 was 15,000 and in 1949, 25,000, the ultimate target being 32,500 in the light of experience and availability of trained staff and equipment. The strength of the Junior Division in 1948 was 30,000 and in 1949, 50,000, the ultimate target being, 1,35,000.

In recent years Physical Education has come to receive great attention from the educationists and State Governments. It has been generally made a compulsory subject in schools and colleges which are employing young men trained at the different colleges of Physical Education in the country as directors of Physical Education. In some States like Assam, West Bengal, U.P. and Bombay there are officers to supervise the physical activities of the State and State-aided institutions Teachers' training institutions have also begun to offer specialised courses in Physical Education. Graded syllabuses of Physical activities to suit the students of different classes and ages are being drawn up everywhere, and provisions are generally being made for medical and physical examinations with follow up work, immunization programmes, health instruction, etc. Commendable efforts are also being made to standardise indigenous physical activities and games, and to incorporate them in the school programmes of Physical Education. Bombay seems to have taken a lead in this matter. There is a Board of Physical Education to review the progress of Physical Education from time to time, study difficulties

[7] *Radhakrishnan University Education Report,* Vol I, p 365

and problems and make suitable recommendations to the Government. An Institute of Physical Education has been established which organises a one-year diploma course for graduates, and short term courses for other teachers of secondary and primary schools. Most of the secondary schools have by now at least one diploma holder and several "short-termers" on the staff Private agencies such as *Vyayamshalas* and *Akhadas*, where indigenous activities are practised, are also being encouraged.

Greater emphasis is now being placed in India on tournaments. Inter-state, inter-collegiate and inter-zonal tournaments are being conducted in several States.

During 1951-52 a physical training camp of 35 teachers was organised in Assam for teachers from the city and mofussil schools. The Madhya Bharat Olympic Association was also established during the year to combine sport activities with athletics. In January 1952, the Bombay Government appointed a Committee to consider the question of converting the Training Institute for Physical Education at Kandivli into a National College of Physical Education and Recreation in all its aspects and the question is receiving Government attention.

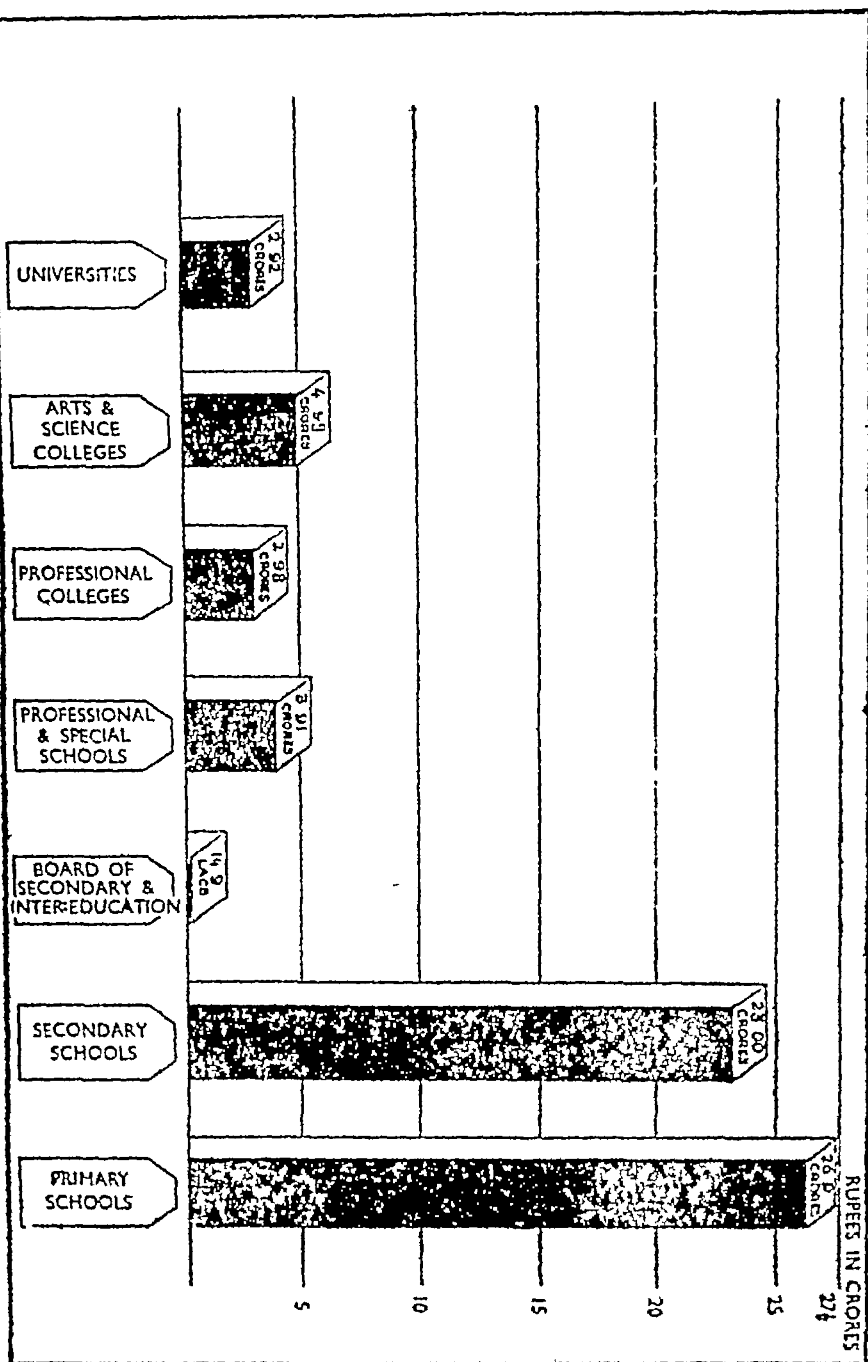
The National Cadet Corps has been functioning in most of the Universities and junior units of the Corps have been running in most of the public schools and some other institutions. The Corps has conducted many camps and training courses already. The Government of Madras has sanctioned an Air Wing Unit of the National Cadet Corps in the Colleges of Madras city.

Critical Observations

The recent developments in Physical Education indicate a healthy trend in the right direction. But in spite of greater attention paid to Physical Education in our schools

and colleges in recent years, there are still many deficiencies which have been pointed out by the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission. "In general, we may say, there is a lack of interest both on the part of students and the authorities, insufficient trained personnel, dearth of playgrounds and equipment, poverty of students, absence of organisation, poor types of programmes, small variety of games, conflict with academic work, and inconvenience of time."[8] All these defects must be removed if free India is to reach the physical standards of other free nations of the world.

[8] *Report of the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission*, Vol I, p. 356



Educational Expenditure by type of Institutions 1948–49

CHAPTER XXIV

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

RELIGION was regarded as a very important subject in the educational systems of both Ancient and Medieval India The teachers aimed at regulating a pupil's personal and social life by a code of behaviour based on fundamental principles of ethics and religion It was strongly felt that the emotional and ethical development of the young people could not be left to chance.

The Christian missionaries who came to India in the wake of European trading companies and who did a good deal for the education of Indians were impelled by powerful religious motives. It was their zeal for evangelization that enabled them to hold out successfully against the powerful orthodox opposition both from the Hindus and the Muslims. The earliest educational efforts of the British East India Company were also motivated by a a desire to counteract the influence of the Roman Catholic missionaries The Company's Chaplains were specially trained for missionary work Charity schools were established at several places. But when the East India Company began to accept the responsibility for the education of the Indian people, it changed its attitude towards religious education. It changed its policy of encouraging the Christian missionaries into one of religious neutrality The Vellore Mutiny at the beginning of the 19th century and the Indian Mutiny towards the middle of it, strengthened this attitude of the rulers The missionaries, of course, bitterly criticised the East India Company for this change. Dr. Alexander Duff in his evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Lords said on June 3, 1853, "While we rejoice that true literature and

science are to be substituted in place of what is demonstrably false, we cannot but lament that no provision whatever has been made for substituting the only true religion —Christianity—in place of the false religion which our literature and science will inevitably demolish."[1]

Wood's famous educational Despatch of 1854 re-affirmed the Government's policy of religious neutrality in its recommendations about the system of grant-in-aid. The Inspectors of the Education Departments upon whose favourable reports grants were to be given to private institutions were to take "no notice whatsoever .. ..of the religious doctrines that may be taught in any school." As far as the Government institutions were concerned, they "were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and in order to effect their object it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular" The Directors of the East India Company were anxious "to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism."

A memorial was presented by the Church Missionary Society to Queen Victoria in 1858 on her assumption of the Government of India, beseeching her Majesty "to have it declared to the public authorities in the East Indies that the existing policy will be no longer professed or maintained, but that, it is the belief of Your Majesty and of this Christian nation that the adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth, will be an incalculable benefit to the natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation"[2] But this position was not accepted by

[1] Quoted in the *Radhakrishnan University Education Commission Report*, Vol I, p 288.
[2] Richter *A History of Missions in India*, p 207.

the Secretary of State for India who, in his Educational Despatch of 1859, declared the adherence of the Government of India to the policy of strict religious neutrality followed by the British East India Company.

The Indian Education Commission of 1882, which was appointed partly as a result of missionary agitation and complaint that the policy of the withdrawal of Government control from its institutions in favour of private agencies recommended by Wood's Despatch was not being followed, also supported the attitude of religious neutrality adopted by the Government. The Commission said, "It is true that a Government or other secular institution meets, however incompletely, the educational wants of all religious *sects in any locality,* and *thus renders it easier for them to* combine for educational purposes, while a denominational college runs some risk of confining its benefits to a particular section of the community and thus of deepening the lines of difference already existing."

With regard to the moral education of students the Indian Education Commission recommended:

1 "That an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government colleges;

2 "That the Principal or one of the Professors, in each Government or aided college, deliver to each of the college classes, in every session, a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen"

The best comment on these recommendations is provided by the Government of India Resolution, dated the 2nd October, 1884 which reviewed the report of the Indian Education Commission "It is doubtful", it said, "whether such a moral text-book as is proposed could be introduced *without raising* a variety of burning questions; and strongly as it may be urged that a purely secular

education is imperfect, it does not appear probable that a text-book of morality, sufficiently vague and colourless, to be accepted by Christians, Muhammadans and Hindus would do much, especially in the stage of collegiate education, to remedy the defects or supply the short-comings of such an education."

The Government of India Resolution of 1904 also felt that the remedy was to be sought not so much in any formal methods of teaching conducted by means of moral text-books or primers of personal ethics, as in the influence of carefully selected and trained teachers, the maintenance of a high standard of discipline, the institution of well-managed hostels, the proper selection of text-books, and above all, in the association of teachers and pupils in the common interests of their daily life.

The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 turned down the suggestion to have a course in Theology as a subject of University study on the ground "that it is neither practicable nor expedient to make provision for a Faculty of Theology" Because of the difficulties of the problem, the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) did not consider the question at all

In its plan of Post-War Educational Development in India (1944) the Central Advisory Board of Education realised that "religion in the widest sense should inspire all education and that a curriculum devoid of all ethical basis will prove barren in the end."[3] It appointed a special committee under the chairmanship of Rt Rev G D. Barne to examine the desirability and practicability of providing religious instruction in educational institutions. The Committee submitted an interim report in 1945 and a further report in 1946 which the C A B E considered at its twelfth meeting held at Mysore. After fully considering all aspects of the question the Board resolved that

[3] *The Sargent Plan* (1944), p. 7

while they recognise "the fundamental importance of spiritual and moral instruction in the building of character, the provision for such teaching, except in so far as it can be provided in the normal course of secular instruction, should be the responsibility of the home and the community to which the pupil belongs."

On the subject of religion, the Constitution of free India also lays down the following principles:

"22 (1) No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution maintained wholly out of State funds.

Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under an endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

(2) No person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in that institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person, or if such person is a minor, his guardian, has given his consent thereto.

(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent any community or denomination from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in an educational institution outside its working hours"

The Constitution has made the position of the State quite clear The State is not prepared to associate itself with religious instruction of any kind whatsoever But an aided institution run by a particular community may provide religious instruction outside its working hours on an optional basis. Religious instruction cannot be compulsory in any state or state-aided institutions.

The Radhakrishnan University Education Commission of 1948-49 has studied the problem of religious instruction at the collegiate stage and made the following recommendations.

"(1) that all educational institutions start with a few minutes of silent meditation;
(2) that in the first year of the Degree course lives of the great religious leaders like Gautama Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster, Socrates, Jesus, Shankara, Ramanuja, Madhva, Mohammad, Kabir, Nanak, Gandhi, be taught,
(3) that in the second year some selections of a universalist character from the scriptures of the world be studied;
(4) that in the third year, the central problems of philosophy of religion be considered"

Critical Observations

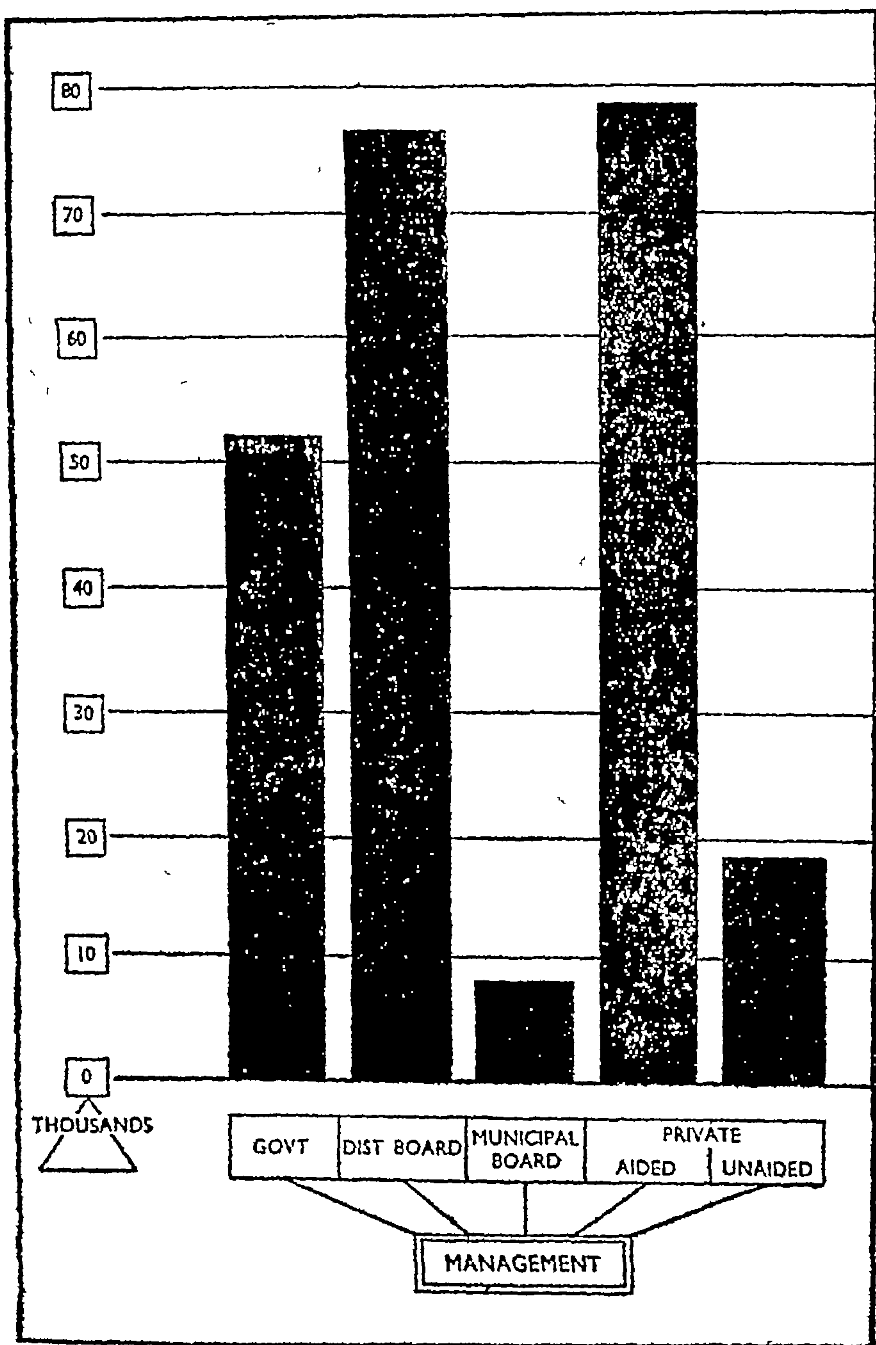
The importance of religious instruction and moral training have all along been recognised, but there have been genuine difficulties of a serious nature in providing religious instruction for all in State schools In a country like India, where there are so many religions and where the followers of different religions often quarrel, the only course left for the State is to adopt a policy of strict religious neutrality Even such a deeply religious man as Mahatma Gandhi, when asked why he did not include religious instruction in his Wardha Scheme, replied. "We have left out the teaching of religions from the Wardha Scheme of Education because we are afraid that religions as they are taught and practised today lead to conflict rather than unity. But on the other hand, I hold that the truths that are common to religions can and should be taught to all children These truths cannot be taught

through words or through books—the children can learn these truths only through the daily life of the teacher. If the teacher himself lives up to the tenets of truth and justice, then alone can the children learn that truth and justice are the basis of all religion."[4]

The indiscipline of students in recent times has become a headache to all educationists. The murder of Principal Garg of Baraseni College at Aligarh has opened the eyes of the people to the extent to which unruly students can go. The U P. Education Service Association made a few recommendations in 1951 to check the growing indiscipline among students. The measures suggested include the assumption of unconditional powers of corporal punishment by the heads of institutions, prompt disciplinary action against lawbreakers, withholding of promotion and closer contact with the students' parents.

This indiscipline among students has led many educationists to press for the inclusion of religious instruction in Indian schools. They contend that all these problems are due to the absence of religious teaching in our schools. But concrete, practical solutions have not been forthcoming Even if it were possible to have a body of principles common to all religions, it is not likely that they would be acceptable to the followers of all religions. Moreover, a teacher belonging to one religion is likely to emphasize his own religion The only sane solution appears to be to entrust conscious religious instruction to the home and the community outside the school In the school itself, only indirect influence on the character of students should be exerted through the healthy influence of the right type of teachers At the collegiate stage, as the Radhakrishnan Commission has recommended, the philosophy of religion may be studied together with the lives of the great religious teachers.

[4] *Educational Reconstruction* (published by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh), pp 57-58



Institutions by Management 1948–49

CHAPTER XXV

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

WOMEN in Ancient India enjoyed a much higher status than they came to have later. They had a position of honour and authority in the family, and marriages often took place by the free choice of men and maids. But in course of time the right to study the Vedas came to be denied to women, so that Manu, the great Hindu lawgiver, could deny to them all right to independent action. He said, "By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one nothing must be done independently, even in her own house" The prejudice against women's formal education hardened for several reasons There came to be attached to temples *devadasis* (servant-maids of the gods) who were instructed in singing, dancing and recitation. These temple girls fell into disrepute because of their immorality and so their very accomplishments, namely, proficiency in music, dancing and reading came to be associated with women of bad character Indeed, there is a Sanskrit verse which says that "a woman who sings is seldom virtuous"[1]

Although the Buddhist monastic order included nuns who had to be educated, this practice does not seem to have improved the lot of women to any appreciable degree With the coming of the Muslims, the purdah system was introduced which confined even most Hindu women to the four walls of their houses. As a consequence, when the Europeans came to India, there were hardly any schools for girls who sometimes attended boys' elementary schools, but stopped going out of the house with the approach of puberty.

It should not, however, be taken to mean that women in

[1] "*Kwachit ganwati sati*"

India in the recent past were given no education of any kind. They certainly did not receive literary education at public schools, but they were carefully instructed at home in all household duties. In rich zamindar families girls were often taught by tutors to read and to keep accounts. When enquiries into the state of education in India were made in the first half of the 19th century, the real state of women's education could not be revealed because such information was carefully kept back The author of the Census of India for the year 1881 admitted that "there is no doubt that the number of women who can read and write is not fully stated in the Census schedules," because "respectable women who could read, when asked whether they could read and write, would reply in the negative, because it is not considered respectable for a woman to write, though her ability to read would not be a blot on her character"[2]

According to Adam, the first attempt "to instruct girls in an organised school" was made in 1818 at Chinsura, but the school failed.[3] Lady Amherst in 1824 encouraged a society for the education of native females, by becoming its patroness.

Indian prejudices against the education of women were, however, strong and deep. William Adam wrote, "In fact, a feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu females, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that the girl taught to write and read will soon after marriage become a widow... ... and the belief is generally entertained that intrigue is facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females. .....The Mohammedans participate in all the prejudices of the Hindus against the instruction of their female offspring"[4]

[2] Census for 1881, Vol 1, p 254.
[3] J Long· *Adam's Reports*, p 44
[4] ibid, p 132

But the missionaries were not discouraged by these obstacles Even in 1823 the Church of England Missionary Society alone ran 23 girls' schools with about 500 pupils in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. Most of the mission schools were attended only by girls of the lower classes, and nothing had been done for their social superiors till 1849 when J. E. Drinkwater Bethune established a secular girls' school in Calcutta and converted Lord Dalhousie to his own views. Bethune's effort may be regarded as marking the real beginning of women's education in modern India His example was followed by educated Indians elsewhere also. In his letter of April 11, 1850 from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal, Lord Dalhousie praised Bethune's effort and instructed the Council of Education to consider its function as including the superintendence of the education of native females also and to give all possible encouragement to any disposition shown by the natives to establish female schools The chief civil officers of the mofussil were also directed to encourage Indians, by all means at their command, to establish girls' schools. While generally approving the contents of Lord Dalhousie's letter, the Court of Directors in their Despatch of the 4th September, 1850, advised that "with reference to the opinions and feelings of the Indians in respect of female seclusion, great caution and prudence would be required in carrying out the instructions by the officers in the mofussil."

Thus till the year of Wood's Despatch, i.e. 1854, no step was taken to promote women's education. But with Wood's Despatch the Government policy became one of active encouragement of women's education by means of liberal grants-in-aid. The Directors of the East India Company also praised the work of a native gentleman who started two girls' schools by creating an endowment of Rs. 20,000/- in Ahmedabad.

As a result of this change in the Government's policy with regard to the education of women, several girls' schools were started by some enthusiastic inspectors of the education departments. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar alone was responsible for the establishment of about forty girls' schools between 1855 and 1858. But women's education did not make satisfactory progress, as was admitted by the Secretary of State for India in his Despatch of 1859. "Little progress has been made with female education in India," he said. According to him Bethune's school passed through several hands into Government control. "It was at first attended by about 34 girls, but it did not afterwards show any great vitality." Several schools had been established at Dacca and Hoogly and were aided by the Government. In Agra and its neighbourhood, female education had made greater progress, specially through private effort. A few girls' schools also existed in Bombay and Ahmedabad. The Acting Educational Inspector of the Deccan Division, Captain Lester, said that "prejudices against female education were fast disappearing" This slow progress in women's education was partly due to the inadequate efforts of the Government and partly to such social factors as "the systems of purdah and child marriage, indifference of parents to their daughters' education, distrust in the Western system of education, financial pressure on the middle classes, lack of women teachers and girls' schools, absence of a suitable curriculum for girls and lack of material considerations which form a contributing factor in boys' education."[5]

Gradually, however, the number of educational institutions increased, mainly as a result of private effort, so that by the year 1871 there were 1,760 primary schools and 134

[5] S. N Mukerji. *History of Education in India*, pp 294-295.

secondary schools for girls in the whole country. With regard to the higher education of girls, the Universities took a strange attitude. Several girl applicants for the Entrance Examination of Calcutta University were refused permission by the Syndicate on the ground that "in the Act of incorporation they have no power to admit any female to a University examination." It was only in the early eighties of the last century that such obstacles in the way of women candidates were removed

The Indian Education Commission of 1882 recommended the expansion of girls' education by means of much easier terms for grant-in-aid to girls' schools. The Commission did not favour mixed schools other than infant schools, because mixed schools were "not generally suited to the conditions of this country." The syllabuses of girls' schools were to be different from those of boys' schools because they were to be "drawn up with special reference to the requirements of home life, and to the occupations open to women" There was also to be "a gradual supersession of male by female teachers in all girls' schools"

Some of the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission of 1882 were implemented by the Government. Posts of inspectresses of girls' schools were created and a few training schools for women teachers were also established. By the end of the 19th century there were 12 colleges, 467 secondary schools and 5,628 primary schools for girls with a total enrolment of 4,44,470 students in the whole of India.

During the 19th century the missionaries made much greater efforts in the cause of women's education in India than anybody else Addressing the All-India Women's Conference, Dr Muthulakshmi Reddi said, "I honestly believe that missionaries have done more for women's education in this country than Government itself."[6] Besides

[6] Quoted in *Modern India and the West,* p 455.

the missionaries the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal and the Parsis in Bombay also made commendable efforts. A few new members of the Brahmo Samaj started periodicals also with the object of promoting women's education In 1877 Sasipada Banerji started a Hindu Widows' Home where girls were trained as teachers and taught domestic science and cottage industries The efforts of the Parsis can be judged from the fact that in 1913 out of ten high schools for girls in Bombay eight were run by the Parsis.

In Poona, Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) started a home for Hindu widows which housed at times as many as 2,000 widows Towards the end of the 19th century Professor Karve of Poona started a school for Hindu widows which has now developed into the famous Indian Women's University Professor Karve insisted that as women have a different function to perform in life and society from men, they must therefore be educated in a different way

The first quarter of the 20th century was marked by the rapid disappearance of all prejudices against women's education. Even the Muslims who had consistently opposed all efforts to educate their daughters in public schools throughout the 19th century began to concede, at least in theory the importance of girls' education. In her address to the All-India Women's Conference in 1927, the Rani of Sangli summed up the whole position "There was a time when the education of girls had not only no supporters but open enemies in India Female education has now gone through all the stages — total apathy, ridicule criticism and acceptance It may now be safely stated that anywhere in India the need for the education of girls as much as of boys is recognized as a cardinal need, the *sine qua non* of national progress"[7]

But this unanimity of opinion in favour of girls' education should not blind us to the fact that the progress in

[7] Quoted in *Modern India and the West*, p 158.

this sphere had been far from satisfactory Even in 1926-27 there were altogether 31,089 girls' institutions in the whole of British India with an enrolment of 18,42,356 students. Having pointed out the disparity between the state of boys' education and that of girls' education, the Hartog Committee emphasized the importance of the latter "The education of the girl is the education of the mother and through her of her children"[8] It, therefore, recommended that girls' education should be encouraged and their special needs should be taken into consideration. The way must be kept open for girls to receive the highest academic training, but provision must be made for home training for the great majority of girls, combined with a liberal education

Women themselves gradually became conscious of their right to receive education and became more self-reliant In 1926, the All-India Women's Conference decided to raise money for a college to be entirely staffed and managed by women. In Delhi the Lady Irwin College for Educational Research, Home Science and the Training of Teachers has as its aim the remodelling of girls' education on the lines more suited to Indian life, traditions and ideals.

With the gradual disappearance of the purdah system as a result of Mahatma Gandhi's call to women to come out of their houses to participate in the struggle for national freedom, and with the discontinuance of the practice of child marriage as a result of the Sharda Act, more and more girls have begun to take advantage of whatever opportunities for education are available. Although the number of institutions of all types for girls in British India actually decreased from 31,089 in 1926-27 to 27,138 in 1945-46, the number of girls reading in them increased from 18,42,356 in 1926-27 to 40,20,448 in 1945-46. The percentage of female students in all institutions to the total

[8] *Report of the Hartog Committee*, p 150

population of the country was 2.53 in 1942-43. 2.48 in 1943-44 and 2.58 in 1944-45. A very good idea of the progress of literacy among women in India can be had from the following table.[9]

PER CENT. LITERATE, AGE 10 PLUS, BY SEX, 1891-1941

Year	Both sexes combined	Men	Women
1891	6·1	11·4	·5
1901	6·2	11·5	·7
1911	7·0	12·6	1·1
1921	8·3	14·2	1·9
1931	9·2	15·4	2·4
1941	15·1	27·4	6·9

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

Although there has been a commendable change in the attitude of both the Government and the people in the matter of women's education, yet there still exists a great disparity between the education of boys and girls. "In 1937 while 50 per cent. of boys between the age of six and seven were attending school, only 16 per cent. of girls (of that age group) were doing so, and in some provinces e.g., the United Provinces and Bihar, only 6 per cent."[10] In 1945-46 there were six and a half times as many boys and men in secondary schools and colleges as there were girls and women. The evil effect of the Government neglect of girls' education in the 19th century has been well expressed by Arthur Mayhew: "If the Government by the initial exclusion of the masses accentuated the segregation of the masses from the privileged few, by their initial restriction of their (educational) efforts to the male population they

[9] Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, p. 151.
[10] *Modern India and the West*, p. 459.

brought a line of division where it had never existed before within the household."[11]

Probably the greatest defect in the education of our girls has been that they have been required to study almost the same subjects as boys. As the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission has pointed out. "Little thought has been given to the education of women as women Women must share the same programme as men or go without."[12] While women should certainly have equality of opportunity, they need not necessarily have identity of opportunity. Although this aspect has been emphasized both by Prof Karve's Indian Women's University and Lady Irwin College, Delhi, it has not been generally followed elsewhere In co-educational institutions the special needs of girls have been generally ignored. Home economics, nursing, teaching, and fine arts should find a prominent place in the education of women.

It has, however, begun to be increasingly realised in free India that the education of women is more important than that of men. The Radhakrishnan University Education Commission says· "There cannot be an educated people without educated women. If general education had to be limited to men or to women, that opportunity should be given to women, for then it would most surely be passed on to the next generation."[13] Unfortunately our national Government has not been able, so far, to carry out any far-reaching reorganisation of women's education in the country. Whatever form the system of women's education takes, women themselves must have a predominant voice in that decision If the point of view of the male still predominates, women's education is bound to remain unsatisfactory.

[11] *The Education of India*, p. 126
[12] *Report of the Radhakrishnan Education Commission* Vol 1, p 393
[13] ibid , p 393

CHAPTER XXVI

THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS

THE method of training teachers prevalent in indigenous schools at the beginning of the 19th century was what has come to be known as the "monitorial system". It consisted in the advanced pupils teaching their less advanced fellow students in the same class under the guidance of the teacher. This system enabled a single teacher to manage the instructional requirements of a whole school consisting of several classes. Dr. Bell of Madras Presidency adopted this system, and introduced it in England where it became popular for some time This "monitorial system" has also come to be known as the "Bell System" or "the Madras System" of education

The need for a more systematic training of teachers was first realised by the education societies that came into existence in the three Presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras during the third decade of the 19th century.

In March 1825, the Court of Directors, while confirming the monthly grant of Rs 500/- to the Calcutta School Society expressed their approbation of the measures which had been adopted for the education of persons as teachers of native schools "The Calcutta School Society appears to combine with its arrangements for giving elementary instruction arrangement of still greater importance, for educating teachers for the indigenous schools. This last object we deem worthy of great encouragement, since it is upon the character of indigenous schools that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend. By training up, therefore, a class of teachers, you provide for the eventual extension of improved education to a portion of the natives of India, far exceeding

that which any elementary instruction that could be immediately bestowed, would have any chance of reaching"[1]

In his Minute of 10th March, 1826, Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, suggested the appointment of a Committee of Public Instruction. He also realised the need of "a body of instructed teachers" for the progress of education in the Presidency and recommended the establishment of a central school for the education of teachers.

An idea of the type of teachers' training to be provided in the proposed central school can be had from the circular letter dated 24th June, 1926, issued by the Secretary of the Committee of Public Instruction to several officers of the Presidency. "It, however, seems necessary, as a preliminary step, to form a body of efficient teachers, and to ensure this a central school or college is now establishing at the Presidency for the education of the superior or collectorate teachers The Hindoos will be taught, on grammatical rules, the vernacular languages of the provinces to which they belong, and the Sanskrit; the Mussulmans will be taught Hindoostanee, Persian, and Arabic, and both will be instructed in the English language, as well as the elements of European literature and science."[2]

The Native Education Society of Bombay made arrangements for the training of teachers. In 1826, 24 teachers trained by it were sent to the different primary schools of the Presidency. Training classes were also started at the Elphinstone Institution as the Society's primary schools expanded and more trained teachers were needed to run them.

It appears that these efforts to train teachers did not aim

[1] Quoted in *Fisher's Memoir* which has been reproduced in *"Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers"*, Part I (1832), edited by A N Basu, page 88

[2] A N Basu *Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers,* Part, I, p 112

so much at training them in methods of instruction as at improving their knowledge of the subject matter which they had to teach to the children under their charge

These sporadic efforts do not seem to have made much headway till the middle of the 19th century when probably the most important step was taken in establishing the modern educational system in India Wood's Despatch of 1854 realised the great deficiency in the facilities for teachers' training in India and desired "to see the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of training schools and classes for masters in each Presidency in India" It recommended that the pupil-teacher system of England should be adapted to suit Indian conditions. The system mainly consisted "in the selection and instruction of pupil-teachers (awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they are employed for instruction outside school hours), their ultimate removal, if they prove worthy, to normal schools, the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in those normal schools, and in securing to them sufficient salary when they are afterwards employed as schoolmasters' This system was to be carried out in India "both in the Government colleges and schools, and, by means of grants-in-aid, in all institutions which are brought under Government inspection" It was the wish of the Directors "that the profession of the schoolmaster may, for the future, afford inducements to the natives of India such as are held out in other branches of public service."

During the decade immediately following Wood's Despatch normal schools for the training of primary school teachers were established in all the Presidencies. In 1858, there were several normal schools and training classes, and during the following year the new grant-in-aid rules provided a salary grant to schools only for those teachers who had obtained a certificate. The first Director of Public

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Instruction in Bombay laid down that "selected youths in each *taluka* should be apprenticed as pupil teachers for three years, on stipends rising from Rs 3 to Rs. 5 per mensem, to the ablest schoolmasters in the neighbourhood, and then on successfully passing through their term of apprenticeship, they should be sent up for a further course of instruction on stipends of Rs. 6 per mensem, to the District Training College from which they would eventually return to their respective *talukas* as trained teachers"

According to the Educational Despatch of Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India, there were, in 1859, four normal schools in Bengal with 258 pupils There was in existence one normal school in Banaras for vernacular schoolmasters, sanction having been given for the establishment of three others at Agra and two other places in the North-Western Provinces The normal school at Madras had a practising school attached to it and provided training for the teachers of both vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools.

By 1882 there were in Bombay seven training colleges for men and two for women with 553 teachers under training. In the Central Provinces there were four training institutions for men and one for women Bengal had the largest number of normal schools There existed in 1872-73 as many as 26 normal schools, and in 1874 a sum of Rs. 1,46,000 was sanctioned for the opening of 46 additional normal schools. But this scheme was not fully carried out because of a controversy about the ultimate value of the training of teachers The gradual substitution of better educated, if untrained, men was urged on grounds alike of economy and efficiency As a result of this new policy, from 1874 to 1876 the number of Government normal schools rose to 41. The number fell to 31 in 1877, to 24 in 1878, and to 17 in 1879 In 1881 there were 8 normal schools for training superior vernacular, and 10 for training village

teachers, including the *guru* departments of first grade schools"[3]

Madras had at that time 32 training schools with an enrolment of 927. There were in 1882 in the whole of India 106 normal schools with an enrolment of 3,886 primary school teachers, maintained at a total cost of about Rs. 4 lakhs.

While, thus, between 1854 and 1882 some progress had been made with the provision of training to primary school teachers, arrangements for the training of secondary school teachers were very scanty. There existed in 1882 only two such training colleges, one at Madras and the other at Lahore. Here also there was a controversy about the value of a further study of the subjects the teachers had to teach and of their study of the principles and practice of teaching at a training institution

The Indian Education Commission of 1882 resolved these controversies and stated its opinion decidedly in favour of training institutions both for primary and secondary school teachers "It seems to us a matter of the greatest importance not merely that normal schools should be established at a few centres, but that they should be widely distributed throughout the country." The Commission, therefore, recommended that "the supply of normal schools, whether Government or aided, be so localised as to provide for the local requirements of all primary schools, whether Government or aided, within the division under each Inspector.... ., that the first charge on provincial funds assigned for primary education be the cost of its direction and inspection, and the provision of an adequate supply of normal schools"[4] With regard to the training of secondary school teachers, the Commission recommended that

[3] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, (1882), pp. 130-131

[4] ibid, p 132.

"an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted, success in which should hereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided." It was also recommended that graduates wishing to attend a course of instruction in a normal school in the principles and practice of teaching should be required to undergo a shorter course of training than others.

The recommendations of the Indian Education Commission do not seem to have had any immediate effect It made the training of teachers a condition not of initial employment in any school but of permanent employment So, many teachers did not care enough for a training certificate. At the end of the 19th century there were only six training colleges in India for secondary school teachers. There were none in Bombay

The Government of India's Resolution on Educational Policy, 1904, realised that "the time has come to extend the system to provinces where it does not exist, notably Bombay, and to endeavour to create a supply of trained teachers which shall be adequate to the needs of the secondary schools throughout the country." The Resolution also laid down the following principles on which training institutions were to be developed·

1 More men of ability and experience in the work of higher training should be enlisted to provide an adequate staff of well trained members of the Indian Educational Service.
2. The equipment of a Training College for secondary teachers is at least as important as that of an Arts College, and the work calls for the exercise of abilities, as great as those required in any branch of the Educational Service.
3 For graduates, the training course should be a one-year University course, leading to a University degree

or diploma. The course should "be chiefly directed towards imparting to them a knowledge of the principles which underlie the art of teaching, and some degree of technical skill in the practice of the art"

For others, it should be a two-year course, embracing the extension, consolidation and revision of their general studies to make them capable teachers.

4. The training in the theory of teaching should be closely associated with its practice, and for this purpose, a good practising school should be attached to each college.
5. "Every possible care should be taken to maintain a connection between the training college and the school, so that the student on leaving the college and entering upon his career as a teacher may not neglect to practise the methods which he has been taught."

This policy was further strengthened by the declaration in 1913 that "eventually under modern systems of education no teacher should be allowed to teach without a certificate that he has qualified to do so."[5] The Government also wished to multiply and improve training colleges so that trained teachers might be available for public and private institutions.

As a result of these declarations the number of training colleges between 1904 and 1921 increased from 6 to 13 The proportion of trained teachers to the untrained, increased appreciably during this period, in all the provinces.

The Calcutta University Commission in 1919 emphasized the need of increasing the output of trained teachers and recommended the creation of the Departments of Education in the Universities of Dacca and Calcutta In 1926-27 there were 21 training colleges with 1,257 students, and 695

[5] *The Government of India Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1913

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[5] *The Government of India Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1913.

normal and training schools for primary teachers with an enrolment of 26,274.

The Hartog Committee in 1929 made important recommendations about the training of primary teachers It recommended that the standard of the general education of primary teachers should be raised, that the course of training should be sufficiently long, that the training institutions should be more adequately staffed for greater efficiency, that frequent refresher courses and conferences should be arranged for the benefit of teachers already in service; that the service conditions of primary teachers should be improved to attract and retain better quality of teachers, etc.

The facilities available in India for teachers' training between the Hartog Committee Report and the Year of Independence will be clear from the following table.

TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA, 1931-1947

Institutions	1931-32	1936-37	1940-41	1946-47
No of Training Colleges	23	23	25	34
No of their Students	1,582	1,779	2,218	2,493
No of Normal Training schools for Men	425	334	376	338
No of their Students	21,823	19,124	22,435	23,754
No of Normal Schools for Women	209	205	236	189
No of their Students	6,945	7,082	8,896	10,193

Facilities for the training of teachers in India were wholly inadequate during the decade preceding Independence There were in 1936-37 about 4,78,193 teachers in primary and secondary schools of the country out of whom 2,06,695, or 43 2%, were untrained In 1941-42 only 2,01,981 out of a total of 5,21,255 teachers, or 38 7%, were untrained The figures for the year 1946-47 were 5,66,398 teachers in

all, out of whom 2,17,898 were untrained, or 38 5% of the total

There was also the great problem of the co-ordination of courses in the various grades of teachers' training institutions. Indeed, very often the same province had three kinds of awards for the same grade of training, viz, the Bachelor of Teaching or Education, the Licentiate in Teaching and sometimes also the Senior Anglo-Vernacular Certificate (S.A V.). While in some provinces colleges were institutions which, besides training undergraduates for primary and middle schools, also trained graduates for high schools, in a majority of provinces colleges were of postgraduate standard and trained teachers only for high schools.

Broadly speaking, there were three types of teachers' training institutions in pre-independent India:

a) Normal Schools or Primary Training Schools for primary school teachers, the usual qualification for admission being a pass at the middle school examination,
b) Secondary Training Schools for middle school teachers who were to be at least matriculates before they could be admitted, and
c) Training Colleges for high school teachers who should be at least graduates in Arts or Science before they could be admitted

After Independence, Basic education has been increasingly recognised as the only suitable form of education at the primary and secondary stages We have already discussed at appropriate places the progress made in India so far in the spread of Basic education. New types of training institutions became necessary. Old normal schools are now being converted into institutions for training teachers for the Junior Basic stage. New colleges are also being started for teachers for the Senior Basic stage.

During 1951-52 two training institutions for Basic school teachers were started in Delhi and greater facilities were also provided for such training at the Training Institute of the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi. The Central Institute of Education, Delhi, also began to work as an important centre of research and took up several promising lines of experiment and enquiry, e g., the adaptation of Basic education to the needs of the urban community, the education of young children of the pre-school age, etc.

A Regional Basic Education Conference was held in Madras in November-December, 1950 to bring into contact the staff of Basic training schools, inspecting officers and administrative officers so that they might formulate future plans for further development. The Basic Training College for men in West Bengal trains teachers in craft-centred education and its syllabus emphasises the practical aspect of education and has provision for craft training as well as training in democratic living and social service There is an experimental Basic school attached to the College and a separate Basic training centre for women offering Basic and advanced courses. At the David Hare Training College also the courses have already been reorientated and a Bureau of Educational and Psychological Research is being set-up.

The Government of Bombay is also organising training centres for teachers of secondary schools in order to train them in suitable crafts at three technical high schools so that they may give a practical bias to education in their schools. In Assam, the training of Basic teachers in five centres was completed in February, 1952 In Himachal Pradesh a Basic teachers' training school has been started and the Government have a plan for the provision of additional staff in 34 single-teacher primary schools

Very recently the need of training teachers for the education of adults has also been recognised. A new type

of training institution known as the Janata College has come into being for training workers in the field of social education. The Janata College at Alipur (Delhi) provides facilities for education in civics, health, sanitation, agriculture, animal husbandry, cottage industries and crafts. Selected villages are visited by students every week and each student is expected to draw up a programme of improvement for his own village and work it out after leaving the College. In Madras, a new training school for adult education teachers has also been started and intensive training courses in adult literacy methods have been organised for the benefit of qualified assistant teachers and deputy inspectors of schools Under the Five Year Plan many institutions of this type are going to be started in the different States of our country.

After Independence, the problem of the training of secondary schools teachers was also considered by the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission, 1948-49 which made several useful suggestions like the following:

1. The courses should be remodelled and more time given to school practice and more weight should be given to school practice in assessing the students' performances;
2. Suitable schools should be used for teaching practice,
3. Students should be encouraged to fall in with the current practice of a school and make the best of it,
4. The bulk of the staff of a training college be recruited from people who have first-hand experience of school teaching;
5. The courses on the theory of education should be flexible and adaptable to local circumstances;
6. The students should be encouraged to proceed to the Master's degree only after some years of experience of teaching,

7. The original work by professors and lecturers should be planned on an all-India basis.

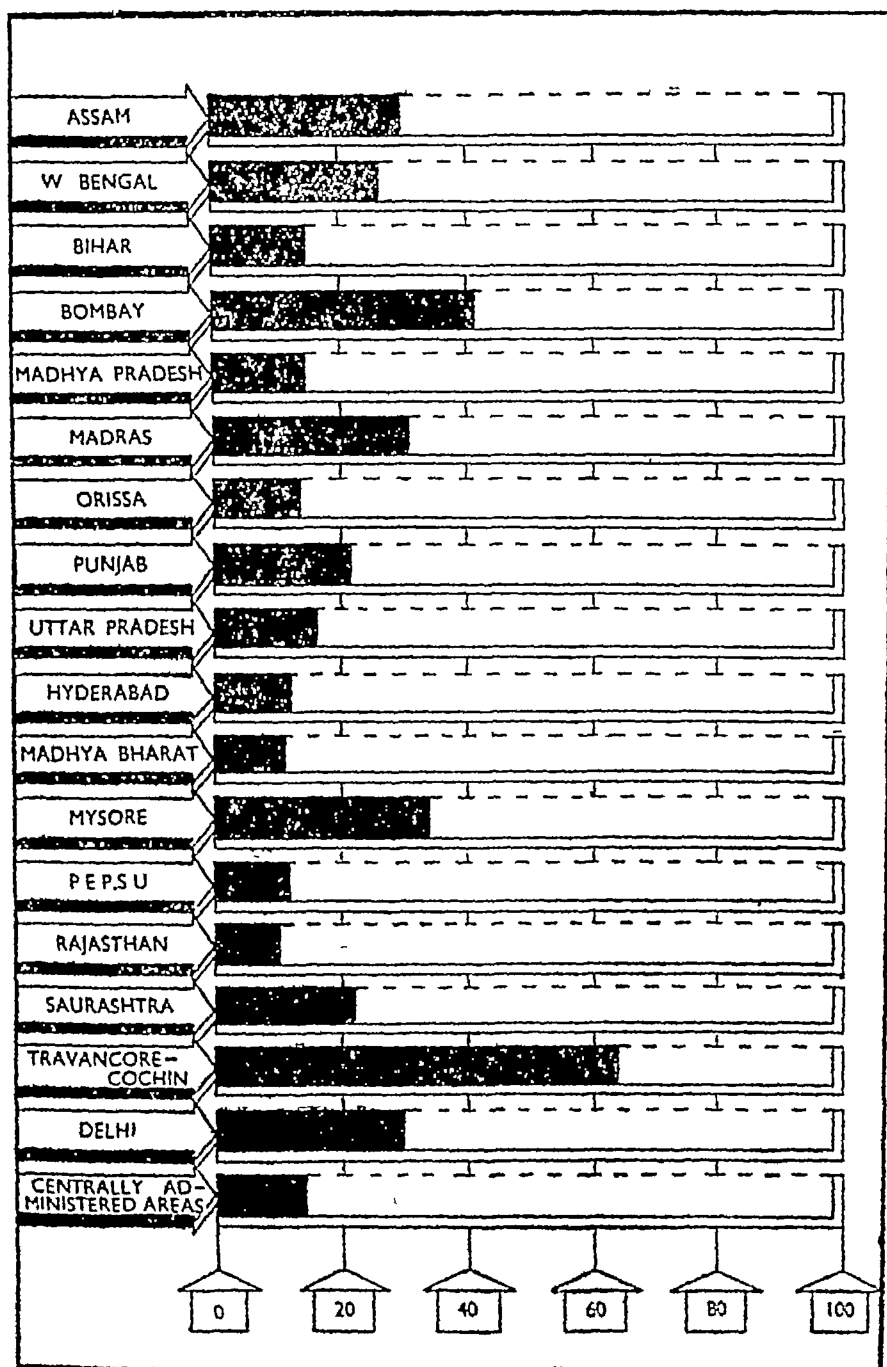
But these recommendations have not yet been properly carried out.

Critical Observations

Although the facilities for the training of teachers have steadily expanded during the first half of the twentieth century, yet the training institutions today are totally inadequate to the requirements of the country, if any scheme of compulsory Basic education is put into operation. Shortage of suitably qualified teachers is standing in the way of the expansion of Basic education in many Indian States.

The training institutions of the country have been working in isolation and there has been little or no effort so far to co-ordinate their work. Again, the practising schools do not often co-operate with the training colleges on the ground that the instruction of the boys suffers. The Radhakrishnan University Education Commission has suggested that the Government should "make it a condition of aid or even recognition to suitable schools that they shall play their proper part in the practical training of the recruits whose services they subsequently intend to use."

Much greater effort in educational research is needed and the efforts of the various training colleges and Universities should be co-ordinated for the best results.



Percentage of children in schools to children of school going age, 1948–49

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EDUCATION OF THE HANDICAPPED

A PERSON may suffer from a physical, mental or social handicap. He may be blind or deaf or both or suffer from speech or other physical defects. He may be feeble-minded or imbecile or emotionally unstable He may become addicted to antisocial activities because of maladjustment, accident or disease. But a handicapped person, if properly educated, can often lead a useful and contented life. It is the duty of a democratic society not to regard the handicapped as a burden, but do all in its power to ameliorate their lot and enable them, as far as possible, to lead the life of happy and useful citizens.

The British Government in India failed to make adequate provision for the education of even normal children They hardly paid any attention to the education of the handicapped. Indeed, no systematic effort has been made so far in India to discover the handicapped child and make suitable arrangements for his education During the British period a few homes for the blind were established mainly as the result of the efforts of private philanthropic bodies or Christian missionaries. But in recent years the problem of the education of the handicapped has received increasing attention both from the popular Governments in the States and from private bodies.

POSITION ON THE EVE OF INDEPENDENCE

Just before Independence there were two schools for the blind in Calcutta: The Calcutta Blind School at Behala (Twenty-four Parganas) and The Lighthouse for the Blind, Calcutta The former was a residential school

School for Blind Girls at Palamcottah, all the schools were mixed schools. They provided general education up to the fifth standard and laid emphasis on the teaching of small cottage industries and music

In the Punjab there were two schools for the blind, one at Lahore and the other at Amritsar, both meant for boys exclusively. They taught Arithmetic, Sanskrit and English in Braille and crafts like spinning and weaving, cane and *moonje* work and band-playing.

There were six schools for the blind in the U.P, one each at Dehra Dun, Aligarh, Mainpuri, Lucknow, Banaras and Naini (near Allahabad) The subjects taught in these schools included the three R's, music and various other crafts. The school at Dehra Dun was mainly for girls though boys up to the age of 7 years were also admitted.

In the Centrally Administered Areas there were only two schools for the blind, one at Ajmer and the other at Tughlakabad, Delhi.

Schools for the Deaf and Dumb

In Assam there was a school at Sylhet for deaf and dumb children where instruction was provided in lip-reading and writing, tailoring and sewing

In Bengal there was a famous deaf and dumb school at Calcutta besides several others at Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong, Suri, Berhampore, Burdwan, Rajshahi, Bogra, Barisal and Brahmanbaria. Most of these were managed by municipalities and private bodies. Their courses of study ranged from 8 to 10 years and comprised general subjects like writing, lip-reading, history and arithmetic besides carpentry, tailoring, weaving and printing The Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School had also a Teachers' Training Department which trained teachers from all parts of

India in the methods of teaching the dumb and awarded diplomas and certificates to successful candidates.

There were two schools for the deaf and dumb in Bihar, one at Ranchi and the other at Patna. The subjects of study included the three R's, drawing, clay-modelling, spinning, bee-keeping, type-writing, etc.

There were eight schools in Bombay where lip-reading and articulation were the main features of instruction.

There was only one school in the Central Provinces, the Bhonsla Deaf and Dumb School at Nagpur which was partly supported by the Government and partly by local bodies

Several schools for the deaf and dumb existed in Madras, one each in Coimbatore, Karaikudi, Palamcottah, Teynampet and Mylapore. The school at Teynampet was a combined school for the blind and the deaf-mute. The subjects of instruction at these schools included articulation, lip-reading, drawing, painting, needlework and embroidery.

There were no schools for the deaf in the Punjab and Sind, while there was one school in Orissa at Cuttack called the All-Orissa Deaf and Dumb School In March, 1946, it had only four students on the rolls and the course of study consisted of the three R's and a few crafts.

In the U P. there were only two schools, one at Allahabad and the other at Lucknow, the combined school for the deaf-mute and the blind at Kanpur having been closed in 1944.

The Lady Noyce School for the Deaf and Dumb at New Delhi was the only school in the Centrally Administered Areas. It was co-educational and partly residential, serving not only Delhi but also the Punjab and other areas. Its course of training included the three R's and crafts like carpentry, needlework, weaving, dyeing, tailoring and toy-making

Schools for those Afflicted with other Organic Diseases

There did not exist in India any facilities for the education of those who suffered from such handicaps as diseases of the heart, lungs, skin, etc In Bihar and Madras alone there were some schools for leper children The Bihar school at Purulia had an enrolment of 251 (including 125 girls) in March, 1947 There were five leper asylums in Madras with a total strength of 197 in 1947. Medical attention formed the chief feature of these schools

Schools for the Mentally Handicapped

There was one such school in Bengal and one in Bombay The training in these institutions aimed at correcting the general mental deficiencies of children. These were, however, not run on scientific lines

The position of the educational facilities for the handicapped will be clear from the following table

Education of the Handicapped, 1946-47[1]

Province	No of Institutions		No of Scholars		Expenditure	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
					Rs	Rs
Assam	1	—	22	—	3,060	—
Bengal	15	—	252	—	1,80,752	—
Bihar	4	—	123	—	23,843	—
Bombay	11	—	360	—	65,248	—
C P & Berar	3	—	50	—	11,648	—
Madras	12	—	592	—	92,713	—
Orissa	1	—	6	—	1,420	—
Punjab	2	—	83	—	34,370	—
Sind	1	—	7	—	4,094	—

[1] *Decennial Review*, 1937-47, Vol I, p 159.

languages was subsequently designed and its use was recommended by the Government of India for all schools for the blind Plans were made for setting up an up-to-date Braille printing press for the production of suitable literature in Uniform Indian Braille. It was also proposed to establish a Central Model Institute for the blind at a very early date.

Developments After Independence

After Independence a special unit of the Central Ministry of Education was started to deal with the education and welfare of the blind It has now expanded its activities so as to include the problems of other types of handicapped persons also.

During 1948-49 the Uniform Indian Braille which had been evolved earlier was introduced in a majority of institutions for the blind The Government of India had also plans to establish at Dehra Dun a National Centre for the Blind which was to have three branches, viz.,

a) A Braille Printing Press,
b) A Training Centre for the Adult Blind;
c) A Middle School for Blind children with a Central Teachers' Training Department

The Blind Centre was expected to provide education and training for about 120 blind adults, 100 blind children and 20 teachers of the blind in addition to supplying embossed literature in Indian languages at reduced rates.

The same year the Lady Noyce School for the Deaf and Dumb, New Delhi, was taken over by the Government in order to make it more useful It was also decided to modernise and develop the five teachers' training departments in the country.

There were also plans for setting up an organisation for speech correction and for providing facilities for the

socially handicapped by establishing children's homes, juvenile courts, remand houses and homes for the mentally defective.

An International Conference of workers of the handicapped, sponsored by the United Nations was held in Jamshedpur in December, 1950 with the co-operation of the Indian Conference of Social Workers, Bombay. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was given to the Conference by the Government of India.

A Training Centre for the Adult Blind was actually established at Dehra Dun in January 1950 for imparting vocational training to the adult blind The number of trainees in 1950-51 was as large as 100 Now about 125 blind adults from all parts of the country are undergoing training at the Centre. The Central Braille Printing Press has also been established and it has also produced its first Braille book in Hindi The activities of the Press will be considerably expanded when its new building which is already under construction is completed The Government of India are proposing to strengthen the National Blind Centre with the assistance of the United Nations and to add a few more units so as to establish a complete Blind Welfare Centre at Dehra Dun.

The Government of India have accepted the recommendations of the Middle East and South East Asian Regional Conference on Braille Uniformity, held under the auspices of UNESCO at Beirut in 1951 and have finalised Bharati Braille.

It is also proposed to institute scholarships in order to enable gifted blind students to receive higher general education, and advanced professional and vocational training The Lady Noyce School for the Deaf and Dumb, New Delhi, has also been provincialised to provide better educational facilities to deaf children in Delhi and adjoining States The Government of India also pay 75 per

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cent. of the cost of production of the Quarterly *The Deaf in India* published by the Teachers of the Deaf, Calcutta

Thus we see that in free India some attention has begun to be paid to the education of the handicapped. While some progress has been made in the case of the education of the physically handicapped, very little has been done for the mentally or socially handicapped children. Systematic efforts should be made to discover the handicapped children, to analyse the real causes of their trouble, and to take such steps as are possible to ameliorate their lot. With proper care and education, many of the handicapped can be enabled to lead a happier and socially more useful lives.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SOME NOTABLE EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION

UNDER the impulse of the nationalist movement which we have already discussed at appropriate places a number of educational institutions sprang up in the country independent of the Government and without its support. Several of them succumbed to the neglect of the British Government, but among the survivors the most notable are Visva Bharati, Shantiniketan, Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, S.N.D.T Indian Women's University, Poona, Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar and Vidya Bhawan, Udaipur.

VISVA BHARATI, SHANTINIKETAN

Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, the Poet's father, chose the place which subsequently came to be known as Shantiniketan for his meditation on God, and had a temple built there. In 1901, Rabindranath Tagore founded a school there with the approval and support of his father. Having played truant in his own school days because of the intolerable conditions and restrictions of the traditional school, Rabindranath's immediate object was to have a place where children would live a happy life and enjoy as much freedom as possible. The *Ashram* atmosphere would provide a natural outlet for all their capacities. The usual gulf between the teachers and the pupils would be replaced by a spirit of friendship and brotherliness. The teachers would respect the child's personality and would serve only as guides and not as taskmasters. Natural and healthy surroundings were to promote physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual development. The teachers and the pupils were

thus to form an ideal school community where the best lessons in citizenship could be learnt.

This small boarding school for boys which centred round a couple of small huts developed into the Visva Bharati which we all know so well today. Tagore's visit to Europe and America during the second decade of the present century convinced him of the great dangers of a narrow nationalism that had led to World War I. In 1921, he founded the Visva Bharati in order to promote better understanding between the different peoples of the East and the West through a study of their cultures, philosophies, art and music. In founding the Visva Bharati, Tagore had a threefold purpose which he has described as follows:

1. To concentrate in Shantiniketan, in the midst of the *Ashram*, the different cultures of the East, especially those that have originated in India or found shelter within her shores;
2. To lay in Sriniketan, 'The Institute of Rural Reconstruction', the foundation of a happy, contented and humane life in the villages, and finally
3. "Through Visva Bharati as a whole to seek to establish a living relationship between East and West, to promote inter-cultural, and inter-racial amity and understanding, and fulfil the highest mission of the present age—the unification of mankind."

According to the Memorandum of the Association of Visva Bharati the objectives of this University are

1. "To study the mind of man in its realisation of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view,
2. To bring into more intimate relation with one another, through patient study and research, the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity;

3. To approach the West from the standpoint of such a unity of the life and thought of Asia,
4 To seek to realise in common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and West, and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres,
5 And with such ideals in view to provide at Shantiniketan aforesaid a centre of culture where research into and study of religion, literature, history, science and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian and other civilizations may be pursued along with the culture of the West, with that simplicity in externals which is necessary for true spiritual realisation, in amity, good fellowship and co-operation between the thinkers and scholars of both Eastern and Western countries, free from all antagonism of race, nationality, creed or caste, and in the name of One Supreme Being Who is *Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam.*"

With regard to the membership of the Visva Bharati nd its constituent bodies the Memorandum says.

The membership of the Visva Bharati and its constituent bodies shall be open to all persons, irrespective of ex, nationality, race, creed, caste or class, and no test r condition shall be imposed as to religious belief or profession in admitting or appointing members, students, eachers, workers or in any other connection whatsoever."

The activities of the Visva Bharati may be divided into hree sections.

i) Those of the school at Shantiniketan which provides a liberal course of education from the elementry to the high school stage, including music, dramatics and numerous extra-curricular activities,

ii) Those of the Visva Bharati which is really a deve-

lopment of the school and through which Tagore seeks to bring about a better understanding between the East and the West by means of study of their cultures, and

iii) Those of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction and Silpa Bhavana at Sriniketan

The Visva Bharati consists of the following institutions

a) SHIKSHA-BHAVANA or College which is affiliated to the University of Calcutta and follows its courses of studies;

b) VIDYA-BHAVANA or School of Research in which facilities are provided for research in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Bengali literature and in Indian philosophy, Buddhism and and Indian mysticism;

c) CHEENA-BHAVANA or School of Sino-Indian studies which aims at encouraging Indian and Chinese students to study each other's culture;

d) KALA-BHAVANA or Department of Fine Arts which has introduced a new school of painting which has won world-wide recognition; and

e) SANGIT-BHAVANA or School of Music and Dancing.

While the institutions mentioned above are making untiring effort to preserve Indian culture and to enrich it through a study of foreign cultures and the acceptance of the best they may have to offer, there are two other institutions at Sriniketan which are devoted to the work of rural reconstruction, viz.,

i) SILPA-BHAVANA or School of Industries which encourages and promotes cottage industries in the district, and

ii) The Institute of Rural Reconstruction.

The aims of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction are:

1 To win the friendship and affection of the villagers

and cultivators by taking a real interest in all that concerns their life and welfare, and by making a lively effort to assist them in solving their most pressing problems;

2. To take the problems of the village and the field to the classroom for study and discussion and to the experimental farm for solution;
3. To carry the knowledge and experience gained in the classroom and the experimental farm to the villagers in an endeavour to improve their sanitation and health, to develop their resources and credit, to help to sell their produce and buy their requirements to the best advantage; to teach them better methods of growing crops and vegetables and of keeping livestock, to encourage them to learn and practise arts and crafts, and to bring home to them the benefits of associated life, mutual aid and common endeavour;
4. To work out in a practical way an all round system of elementary education in the villages based on the Boy Scout ideal and training, with the object of developing ideas of citizenship and public duty such as may appeal to the villagers and be within their means and capacity,
5. To encourage in the staff and students of the department itself a spirit of sincere service and willing sacrifice in the interests of, and on terms of comradeship with, their poorer, less educated and greatly harassed neighbours in the villages,
6 To train the students to a due sense of their own intrinsic worth, physical and moral, and in particular to teach them to do with their own hands everything which a village householder or a cultivator does or should do for a living, if possible, more efficiently;
7. To put the students in the way of acquiring practical experience in cultivation, dairy farming, animal hus-

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7 To put the students in the way of acquiring practical experience in cultivation, dairy farming, animal hus-

bandary, poultry-keeping, carpentary, smithery, weaving, tanning, practical sanitation work; and in the art and spirit of co-operation,

8 To give the students elementary instruction in the sciences connected with their practical work, to train them to think and observe accurately, and to express and record the knowledge acquired by them for their own benefit and for that of their fellow men

The Institute of Rural Reconstruction has various departments like those of agriculture, dairy, cottage industries, village welfare, training camps, etc.

Agriculture

The objects of this Department are twofold

a) to demonstrate to the farmers scientific and improved methods of agriculture at the Institute's farm, and to introduce new crops, vegetables and small fruits which can be economically raised in the locality, and

b) to give training to a number of apprentices who intend to go back to their farms and to take to farming as a vocation

The Dairy

The objects of the Dairy at the Institute are also twofold.

a) to supply both Sriniketan and Shantiniketan with fresh, pure milk, and

b) to breed cattle, not only at the Institute but to induce the cultivators to follow the scientific system of breeding, so that they may have not only milch cows but also sturdy draught animals

Cottage Industries

The Department of Cottage Industries provides training in weaving tannery, carpentry, lacquer industry, pottery, book-binding, embroidery, tailoring, etc.

Training Camps

The objects of these camps are twofold.

a) To train village boys as leaders of Brati-Balakas (Scouts) in their own villages;

b) To give an introductory training to young men from the villages and towns, and to school teachers who may wish to take up some form of welfare or village reconstruction work.

The general programme of these camps includes:

i) Camp life and housecraft;

ii) Handicrafts and elementary agriculture;

iii) Scout organisation, including a study of nature in its relation to life;

iv) Co-operation, sanitation, hygiene, first-aid and recreation programmes like dramas, games, songs, and story telling.

The Visva Bharati is thus trying to preserve the best cultural heritage of India and Asia and to combine it with the best in Western art, science and literature. It is also doing wonderful work in the sphere of rural reconstruction, an aspect which has been almost entirely neglected in the modern system of Indian education. It is gratifying

to note that the Visva Bharati has now been recognised by our National Government and given a charter to work as a full-fledged University, receiving aid from the Government but without any Government control over its policies.

Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi

The Jamia Millia Islamia was established at Aligarh in 1920 as a result of the freedom movement. In 1925, the late Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M. A. Ansari brought the institution to Delhi. In 1928, the affairs of the Jamia Millia were placed entirely into the hands of the staff, the majority of whose members formed themselves into the Anjuman Talime Milli and took a pledge of 20 years' service without claiming more than Rs. 150/- a month as their salaries. In 1938, the Anjuman changed its name into the Jamia Millia Islamia Society and got itself registered as a society under the Societies' Registration Act.

According to the Constitution of the Jamia Millia Islamia Society, its objects are:

(i) To promote and provide for the religious and secular education of Indians, and particularly of Muslims, in conformity with the sound principles of education and in consonance with the needs of national life, and to that end to establish, maintain and control suitable educational institutions;

(ii) To hold examinations and give degrees, diplomas and certificates;

(iii) To conduct and aid research work and to disseminate knowledge;

(iv) To conduct educational experiments,

(v) To acquire and hold any property, movable and immovable, to lend or borrow money and enter into contracts for the purposes of the Society,

(vi) To sell, purchase, lease, exchange, invest or otherwise transfer all or any of the property, movable or immovable, for the time being vested in the Society,

(vii) To collect funds, accept gifts, donations and subscriptions in any form for the maintenance of the institutions and the furtherance of the objects of the Society;

(viii) To do all such acts and things as are necessary for or conducive to the said objects.

Some of the basic principles that guide the Jamia Millia Islamia Society are:

(i) It shall be an autonomous educational body and shall allow no interference by the Government or by any outside organisation in the framing, amending or changing of its constitution, its regulations and bye-laws, and in the determination of its courses of studies,

(ii) It shall accept no aid given on conditions that conflict with any of its aims or principles,

(iii) The normal medium of instruction in all stages of education in all the institutions run or controlled by the Society shall be Urdu, but in special cases instruction may be given in other languages,

(iv) It shall promote friendly understanding and mutual appreciation among the various Indian communities.

"The highest aspiration of the Jamia is to evolve a pattern of life for the Indian Mussalmans which will have Islam as its focussing point and will be so designed as to harmonise our national culture with the universal culture of mankind It builds on the principle that true religious instruction will stimulate patriotism and desire for unity among the Mussalmans and create the ambition to excel

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"The highest aspiration of the Jamia is to evolve a pattern of life for the Indian Mussalmans which will have Islam as its focussing point and will be so designed as to harmonise our national culture with the universal culture of mankind It builds on the principle that true religious instruction will stimulate patriotism and desire for unity among the Mussalmans and create the ambition to excel

of Basic education. For the Junior Course a Diploma and for the Senior Course a B Ed degree are awarded.

5. An Institute of Adult Education which conducts experimental social education centres and has prepared about 300 booklets for the neo-literates both in Hindi and Urdu.
6. An Institute of Arts Education for training Art and Craft teachers for the different stages of the existing high schools.
7. The Maktaba Jamia Limited, a publishing house that has raised the standard of school text-books and has made no mean contribution to academic and general literature.
8. An Institute of Rural Economics and Sociology for post-graduate research in village economy and problems of rural development
9. An Institute of History and Politics for co-ordinating the methods of teaching history at the college and high school levels and for preparing supplementary reading material.
10. An Institution of Rural Education for investigation into the various aspects of Basic education, curriculum, techniques of teaching, preparation of literature, crafts, utilisation of craft products, evaluation, supervision and administration.
11. Bachchon-Ki-Biradri (Children's Brotherhood) which has been organising extra-curricular and club activities for children Under its newly appointed Director, Shri Mohd. Ismail Khan, the Biradri is making good progress and planning to concentrate its main efforts on those unfortunate children who have not been able to attend any school and on training workers in organising children's welfare activities

The Jamia has given evidence of its awareness of the

in the service and advancement of real national interests; so that ultimately India may have her full share of service in the common life of mankind and in the realisation of progress, peace and justice."[1]

The Jamia Millia consists of the following institutions:

1. A Residential College, imparting higher education in arts and social sciences The College has plans for giving practical training in agricultural sciences, social education and community development. Some of its students are doing social education work in the neighbouring villages and settlements.
2. A Residential Multi-purpose High School run on modern lines. The School organises projects and the work done in this connection is on display Its 'Delhi Museum' contains historical, cultural and industrial material relating to Delhi The students also do manual work of an advanced nature and learn fretwork, carpentry, tailoring and radio assembling A foundry and machine-shop have also been established.
3. A Residential Primary School conducted on the project method, with special emphasis on pupil-teacher co-operation. Some projects are occasional, others are permanent. The latter include the following
   a) A Bank,
   b) A Book and Stationery Shop,
   c) A Sweets and Fruit Shop,
   d) A Poultry Farm.

   The children also do manual and craft work and each class has its own vegetable garden
4. A Teachers' Training Institute for the training of teachers and conducting experiments in the methods

[1] *Jamia Millia Islamia*, a pamphlet published by the Maktaba Jamia Ltd, Delhi, p. 2.

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snataka or graduate. He can receive the doctorate degree of *vachaspati* after two years' additional study and research.

Every student has to follow the strict discipline of the Gurukul. He has to remain a bachelor till the age of 24. The daily programme consists of early rising, physical exercise, play and sacrificial rites. The Gurukal also sical exercise, play and sacrificial rites The Gurukul also conducts classes for instruction in Ayurvedic system of medicine and has an Ayurvedic Department which prepares well-known medicines sold throughout the country

The Gurukul has attracted students not only from all parts of India, but also from other Asiatic countries. Its only defect has been that it has largely ignored the advance in science and literature that the Western world has made Free India must keep her windows open to the light and fresh air from all quarters.

VIDYA BHAWAN, UDAIPUR

Vidya Bhawan was started in 1931 by Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta as a small school because of his deep conviction that the regeneration and reconstruction of society could take place only through proper education. He was fortunate in having a band of devoted workers by dint of whose efforts the institution has grown beyond all recognition and all the hopes of its founder The Vidya Bhawan Society now runs the following institutions·

1. A Teachers College preparing secondary school teachers for the B.Ed , M Ed., and Ph.D degrees of the University of Rajputana It holds a special course in social service consisting of both theoretical and practical parts and lays great emphasis on the development of the right social outlook among the teachers under training here.

2. A High School run on Public School lines It is the parent institution and has carried out successfully several educational experiments of all-India importance, the most important ones being its Open-air Session once a year, its Group System and its Labour-Unit, Scheme.
3. A Junior School including a nursery section.
4 Handicrafts Institute training teachers of crafts for the schools in Rajasthan.
5 A Senior Basic School run on the lines of the Wardha Scheme. It has also tried a few experiments in order to modify the original Wardha Scheme to suit the special conditions obtaining in this backward part of the country.

The Vidya Bhawan Society, however, has been expanding its activities beyond it financial resources, and unless the Government come forward with more generous help, the future is uncertain. The institutions of the Vidya Bhawan are, however, winning all-India fame and recognition and the Central Government has also come to its rescue with financial aid The Society has plans to give a lead to the country in the sphere of educational reorganisation, specially in Basic education.

Critical Observations

All these national institutions, the result of private effort in the face of orthodox and reactionary forces, are bound to play an important part in the future of Indian education. These institutions are now receiving increasing aid and recognition from both the Central and State Governments. But in spite of any financial aids that the Governments may give to these institutions, they should be allowed to develop along their special, individual lines

CHAPTER XXIX

EDUCATIONAL TRENDS AND ACHIEVEMENTS AFTER INDEPENDENCE

THE pace of educational development in India has been so fast in recent years, and there have been so many controversies and so much confused thinking about our true educational goals and about the ways and means of translating them into actualities, that it is difficult to give a correct estimate of our achievements after Independence. All that can be claimed so far is that the situation has been analysed fairly satisfactorily, some important defects have been pointed out and a few useful remedies have been suggested. But as far as solid achievements in the sphere of Primary, Secondary or University education are concerned, "little positive or constructive has been achieved save indiscriminate expansion."[1] Probably the period has been too short for any solid achievements. Indeed, in 1944, Sir John Sargent estimated that we would need at least a period of forty years to reorganise our educational system, if a steady effort and a steady flow of resources were assured over that period. But in our enthusiasm after Independence, we have reduced that period to 16 years, even to 10 years, but have been able to achieve very little. We are just passing from the study phase into the phase of wide-scale implementation of the recommendations made by our various Education Commissions and Committees.

GENERAL PROGRESS

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In spite of great financial difficulties, during the short period

[1] K. M. Munshi in a talk broadcast via All India Radio on October 21, 1953.

of Independence, there has been a steady increase both in the expenditure on education and in the number of students under instruction in all types of institutions.

"In 1946-47, all the major States and Centrally Administered Areas together spent about Rs. 20.5 crores on education. The Central budget was considerably less than Rs 2 crores."[2] "In 1953-54, the Central allotment for education was less than Rs. 8 crores. In 1954-55, the allotment is almost Rs. 20 crores. So far as the Governmental expenditure on education is concerned, the allotment has increased from Rs 94 crores in 1953-54 to Rs 112 crores in 1954-55."[3] Again, the provision which existed on the eve of Independence "catered for only 30 per cent of the children in the age group 6-11, of less than ten per cent in the age group 11-17, and of less than one per cent for the age group 17-23. In the field of Engineering and Technical education, the position was even more unsatisfactory. In 1947-48, India produced only 930 graduates in Engineering and 320 graduates in Technology. The overall percentage of literacy was barely 15."[4] By the end of 1952, however, "the percentage of children of the age group 6-11 in schools had risen to about 40. The result of this increase made itself felt in the field of Secondary and University education as a whole. In place of 2.37 lakh students who took the School Leaving Certificate or equivalent examination in 1947, the number for 1952 was 5.86 lakhs. The number of graduates in Arts and Science also increased from 24,814 in 1947 to 35,588 in 1952. In the field of Engineering and Technical education the number has more than doubled. In 1952, about 2,500 graduates in Engineering and about 600 graduates in Technology went out of our various institutions."[5]

[2] *Progress of Education in India* (1947-1952), p 3
[3] Maulana Azad's address to the Central Advisory Board of Education, reported in *The Hindustan Times*, Jan 14, 1955
[4] *Progress of Education in India* (1947-1952), p 4.
[5] ibid., p 5

EDUCATIONAL TARGETS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

In 1950, the Government of India appointed a Planning Commission which brought out in 1951 "The First Five-Year Plan" for an all-round development of the country during the period 1951-56. This plan makes "a provision of Rs. 151 66 crores (Rs 35.02 crores for the Centre and Rs. 116.64 crores for the States) for educational development or of Rs 30 33 crores per annum This average indicates an increase of 55 per cent over the development expenditure in 1950-51 which was Rs. 19.55 crores for the Centre as well as the States."[6] Having discussed some of the chief defects of Indian education, the Planning Commission summed up the needs of the present situation in the following words.

"(1) re-orientation of the educational system and integration of its different stages and branches,

(2) expansion in various fields, especially in those of Basic and Social education, remodelled Secondary education and Technical and Vocational education,

(3) consolidation of existing Secondary and University education and the devising of a system of higher education suited to the needs of the rural areas,

(4) expansion of facilities for women's education, especially in the rural areas,

(5) training of teachers, especially women teachers and teachers for Basic schools, and improvement in their pay-scales and conditions of service, and

(6) helping backward States by giving preferential treatment to them in the matter of grants"[7]

The Planning Commission also lays down the following

[6] *The First Five-Year Plan,* p. 530.
[7] ibid, p 529.

broad targets in the various sectors to be reached at the conclusion of the Five-Year Plan

(1) "Educational facilities should be provided for at least 60 per cent of all the children of the school-going age within the age group 6-11, and these should develop, as early as possible, so as to bring children up to the age of 14 into schools in order to cover the age group 6-14, which should be regarded as an integral whole for the purpose of providing Basic education. The percentage of girls of the school-going age (6-11) attending schools should go up from 23 3 per cent in 1950-51 to 40 per cent in 1955-56.

(2) "At the Secondary stage,[8] the target should be to bring 15 per cent of the children of the relevant age group into educational institutions The percentage of girls of this age-group attending schools should go up to 10 per cent.

(3) "In the field of Social education, we should envisage that at least 30 per cent of the people (and 10 per cent of women) within the age-group 14-40 receive the benefit of Social education in the wider sense of the term."[9]

The Planning Commission also estimated that the State resources alone could "provide schooling for 55.7 per cent of the children of the age-group 6-11 and 13·3 per cent of those of the age group 11-17"[10] The gap between these figures and the targets could be "bridged by the development and utilisation of local resources and the productive capacity of students by the introduction of crafts in schools."

It seems to me from the progress made so far that we

[8] The educational provision in 1950-51 for the age-group 11-17 was roughly 11 per cent

[9] *The First Five-Year Plan*, pp 531-32

[10] ibid , p 532.

shall not be able to reach the educational targets of the First Five-Year Plan. But we may hope that the experience gained during the period of the First Five-Year Plan will not be lost and that larger funds for a more systematic expansion of education will be available in our future Five-Year Plans.

Having discussed the general progress made in education after Independence, let us now study the developments in different aspects of education.

Progress in Basic Education

While, before Independence, sporadic efforts were made to introduce Basic education in a few provinces, after Independence, Basic education has been accepted as the only pattern of education for the children of the age-group 6 to 14 years. Great efforts have been made in most of the States to start new Basic schools, to convert existing Primary schools into Basic schools and to establish training institutions for the teachers of Basic schools. In 1951-52[11] there were in India 1,426 Junior Basic schools for boys and 84 schools for girls, while the number of Senior Basic schools for boys was 361 and that for girls 15 "There has been an increase of only about 2,500 Basic schools in the course of the last four years "[12] But work in this direction, however, has been varied to such an extent in the matter of approach and quality in different States, that it is impossible to get a correct idea of the progress made from statistics alone.

Aiming to promote an all-round development of their pupils, Basic schools need better qualified teachers than ordinary primary schools and adequate equipment for

[11] See *Progress of Education in India* (1947-52), pp 29-31
[12] Maulana Azad's address to the Central Advisory Board of Education as reported in *The Hindustan Times* of Jan 14, 1955

(d) an integrated library service for the area,
(e) a Janata College in the area for training village leaders,
(f) a share of grants for improvement of Primary and Basic schools in the selected area from the point of view of teachers, equipment and supervision.

"During the year 1952-53 a provision of Rs. 1 crore was made in the budget for distribution as grants to the States to work out these schemes, and a provision of Rs. 2 crores has been made for the purpose in the year 1953-54, which includes an amount of Rs. 1,25,000/- for strengthening the staff of the Ministry of Education for planning, executing and supervising the schemes."[15] Some of the main difficulties in the way of expansion of Basic education have been the lack of the right type of teachers, the inadequacy of training facilities and the large initial cost of establishing a Basic school. The Central Government has, therefore, decided to take a direct part in the expansion of Basic education by offering assistance to the States for the establishment of one intensive Basic education centre in each State. A further step has been taken by the Central Government by their offer to all the States to contribute 30 per cent of the expenses for converting existing elementary schools into Basic schools. To ensure greater uniformity in the progress of Basic education in different parts of the country, the Government of India have decided to appoint a small committee which will visit areas where Basic education has struck root and make an on-the-spot study of the developments. It is proposed to utilize the report of this committee for planning a programme of expanding elementary education on Basic lines in order to fulfil as early as possible the Constitutional obligation on the

[15] *A Review of Education in India* (1952-53), (Bureau of Education), p. 14.

State for providing free and compulsory education to all children between the ages of 6 and 14 years.

While these efforts of the Central and State Governments are commendable, popular enthusiasm for Basic education cannot be aroused unless top-ranking leaders, eminent educationists and high officials themselves have faith in its superiority. The quality of the training and education imparted in Basic schools should steadily improve, so that people in general begin to have greater faith in them and are themselves eager to send their children to these schools

Progress in Secondary Education

Secondary education is the most important stage in the educational system of our country. It provides students for our colleges and Universities and also teachers for our primary schools and thus determines the quality of education at these stages also. It is the stage when most of our students complete their education and enter the various professions and occupations of life, and the quality of their education determines the quality of their work there. In spite of its importance, Secondary education did not receive adequate attention before Independence The numerous Education Commissions and Committees that were appointed from time to time mainly studied the problems of University or Primary education, and if they dealt with Secondary education they regarded it as a stepping stone to the Universities It is after Independence that the true aim of Secondary education has been increasingly realised The Secondary Education Commission, whose recommendations we have already discussed, has formulated the aims of Secondary education as a stage which is complete in itself as well as one which leads to higher education in colleges and Universities It is al

Independence that most of the problems of Secondary education have been discussed in detail. Even before the report of the Secondary Education Commission was published, the Government of India organised a "Seminar-cum-Camp" of headmasters of Secondary schools in order "to initiate discussions on aspects of Secondary education where immediate improvements could be effected."[16] Held from the 17th May to the 25th June, 1953 at Taradevi, it was a fully representative educational gathering with one or more Headmasters from almost every State of India.

The Seminar discussed the following problems of Secondary education:

"(1) Curriculum—assessment of the existing curricula in Secondary schools of the different States of the Indian Union and suggestion for a new curriculum,

(2) Co-curricular activities, their importance and organisation,

(3) Discipline in schools,

(4) Examinations, terms and promotion; their form and contents;

(5) Teacher education and production of literature;

(6) Service conditions of teachers,

(7) Teacher-parent co-operation and teacher-parent associations."[17]

The Seminar was divided into committees for the study and discussion of the problems listed above. There was a difference of opinion among the members of the Committee on School Curriculum about the inclusion of English as a compulsory subject, though the majority favoured it There were initial differences about the total number of compulsory subjects of the Junior Secondary

[16] Foreword to *Headmasters on Secondary Education*, (published by the Government of India.)

[17] *Headmasters on Secondary Education* (published by the Government of India), p 1.

stage, but ultimately the Senior Secondary [illegible] there should be an compulsory [illegible] [illegible] Physical Education. [illegible] that the Senior Secondary stage should [illegible] courses but that there should [illegible] common to all. The Committee [illegible] the principal [illegible] in Secondary schools [illegible] these activities [illegible] of them which [illegible] Committee on Discipline [illegible] of discipline in schools [illegible] of discipline in national life [illegible] mendations in respect of [illegible] the headmaster and use of [illegible] inculcating a spirit of discipline. The Committee on Examinations pleaded for the abolition of the present system of public examination at the school final stage and recommended that the promotion of pupils should be based on their cumulative school records as well as on the result of periodic tests. The Committee on Teacher Education suggested that there should be greater facilities offered to teachers for in-service training and special refresher courses at stipulated intervals. The Committee on the Service Conditions of Teachers recommended better amenities for teachers by way of free medical aid and free education for their children. It also recommended that Arbitration Boards should be attached to Universities or Secondary Education Boards for settlement of all disputes arising out of interpretations of rules of service for teachers and in all matters of dismissals, withholding of promotion and other grievances. The Committee on Teacher-Parent Co-operation recommended the establishment of Parent-Teacher Associations. While such associations must not interfere with the management or control of schools, they could

useful in projects like free tiffin for students, purchase of projectors for film shows and in running museums, hobby-sections, workshops which the school cannot afford for lack of funds.

One immediate result of the Seminar was the establishment of the first professional Association of Headmasters on an all-India basis The Seminar gave the Headmasters from widely scattered States an opportunity of comparing notes, exchanging and sharing experiences and discussing other matters of common interest, and thus helped to develop in them a truly national outlook by ensuring greater uniformity of educational ideas and practices throughout the country

The Report of the Secondary Education Commission surveyed the entire field of Secondary education and so most of its recommendations were of a very general nature. The Commission's recommendations with respect to the methods of teaching, for example, "deal largely with general principles and purposes which should undergird methods The Commission has not sought to give examples of specific practices which illustrate these principles"[18] But implementation requires specific and detailed proposals. "It was, therefore, necessary that the work of the Commission should be followed up immediately by other expert bodies which would go into specific questions and make concrete suggestions for their implementation."[19]

An International Team was, therefore, appointed by the Government of India, while funds for the support of the team's study were provided by the Ford Foundation. Members of the team included four from India, two from the U.S.A., one from England and one from Scandinavia.

[18] *Teachers and Curricula in Secondary Schools*, (Report of a study by an International Team), p 83
[19] ibid., p (ii).

Again, the quality of teachers cannot be improved as long as the training colleges in India continue to be "a place of refuge for the unfit and mediocre."[22] Higher standards of admission to training colleges, stricter methods of evaluating the teaching ability and personal fitness of teachers under training and a regular and timely weeding of candidates during the period of training are some of the measures, recommended by the International Team, with which it is difficult to disagree

Curriculum and Text-books at the secondary stage

The problem of curriculum at the Secondary stage has been ably discussed by the Secondary Education Commission who have recommended diversified courses to suit the different aptitudes and levels of intelligence of students with a core of subjects compulsory for all. If the broad outlines, suggested by the Commission, are accepted, we shall not have the bewildering variety of syllabuses that are actually being introduced in different States. The main difficulty is that education is a State subject and the Centre has only advisory powers. It is, however, desirable that the Centre should have adequate powers to see that at least broad national policies in education are carried out. The States should have the power to introduce changes and modifications within that framework to suit local conditions and needs. In order to obviate the complaint of undemocratic imposition from the Centre, the Central Bodies formulating national educational policies should have State representatives on them. Then the decisions taken by them will be regarded as the joint decisions of all the States

Some States (like the Punjab, for example) after Inde-

[22] *Report* of the International Team, p. 15.

ers' salaries in India are everywhere deplorably low and the provision of special amenities to teachers such as free education of their children, free medical attention and treatment in hospitals and dispensaries, travel concessions, etc., recommended by the Secondary Education Commission, cannot really solve the problem. Indeed, any special concessions given as an additional favour may wound the teachers' self-respect rather than enhance their prestige in the people's eyes The only true solution of the problem would be to rectify the "historic injustice" done to teachers by making their salaries comparable to those of similarly qualified people in other departments, so that there is no need for any special concessions to them. This measure is likely to attract to the teaching profession better qualified persons who would not be anxious to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere.

With regard to the teachers' social and professional status, no outside help can be so effective as the efforts of the teachers themselves. While the Government Education Departments should certainly consult the teachers on matters of educational policies and plans, the teachers themselves should improve their professional efficiency and make themselves indispensable to Government by their expert knowledge. Teachers' Associations in India have been generally ineffective because they often meet to discuss their grievances and salaries but seldom think over the methods of improving their professional efficiency and conduct. The International Team has, therefore, recommended that "education authorities make a regular practice of consulting teachers, through their properly elected representatives, on educational policies and plans, and that teachers' organisations realize their responsibility to concern themselves with professional as well as economic questions"[21]

[21] *Report* of the International Team, p 11.

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CURRICULUM AND TEXT-BOOKS AT THE SECONDARY STAGE

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[22] Report of the International Team, p. 15

pendence have tried to undertake the production of text-books in order to cheapen their cost. This measure, however, is hardly calculated to raise the quality of text-books. Writers are usually appointed first and their books are printed on a mass scale. Once the writers are assured that their books will be approved and printed, they are likely to become careless. Indeed, the International Team also did "not consider it desirable that State Governments and educational authorities should take up the production of text-books" The Government should, however, undertake the responsibility for organising educational research which will offer material for the production of better text-books and general reading books, such as research in children's interests and attainments at various levels, in the gradation of language material needed in language text-books, in the types of questions and exercises that would be useful to pupils, etc The Government, in consultation with the teachers concerned, should lay down the minimum standards and requirements of the text-books for different grades. Then several text-books which fulfil the conditions should be actually tried for a year and the results carefully evaluated The most satisfactory text-books thus found should be recommended and the schools allowed to choose their own text-books out of the approved list

For the first time after Independence the problems of Secondary education have been discussed in great detail by the Secondary Education Commission and the International Team, and by several Educational Seminars and Workshops of Secondary School Headmasters organised by the Ford Foundation and the United States Educational Foundation in India. But there has never been in the country any dearth of sound, educational advice. The complaint all along has been that many valuable recommendations of several Education Commissions and Committees have not been carried out The Government of

India, however, now seem to be in right earnest about reorganising Secondary education in the country. The appointment of the International Team to study the two most important problems of Secondary education is evidence of the determination of the Government of India to reorganise Secondary education. The recommendations of the team are implementing in character so that the task of reorganisation can be taken up immediately

The duration of the Secondary education course has been a matter of controversy and even the Secondary Education Commission did not give a clear lead in this matter, leaving it to the States to have three or four years' course beyond the 8-year Basic stage. At a conference of Education Secretaries held in November, 1954 it was agreed to get round the difficulty by prescribing that the age of 17 plus should mark the end of Secondary education

The recommendation of the Secondary Education Commission about the establishment of multi-purpose schools has begun to be implemented The Government of India have already initiated a scheme for the conversion of 500 high schools in the country into multi-purpose schools before the end of the present Five Year Plan period. The distribution of the schools will be on the basis of one multi-purpose school for each district. In addition, the Central Government have accepted a scheme for the improvement of teaching and equipment in another 1,000 to 1,500 schools during the same period so that roughly 20 per cent. of the secondary schools in the country can be raised to a higher level[23] The multi-purpose schools will all be higher secondary schools and provide various types of courses in arts, science, agriculture, commerce and technical studies Steps have also been taken to set up a

[23] Maulana Azad's address to the Central Advisory Board of Education, in January, 1955, as reported in *The Hindustan Times* of Jan. 14, 1955.

pendence have tried to undertake the production of text-books in order to cheapen their cost. This measure, however, is hardly calculated to raise the quality of text-books. Writers are usually appointed first and their books are printed on a mass scale. Once the writers are assured that their books will be approved and printed, they are likely to become careless Indeed, the International Team also did "not consider it desirable that State Governments and educational authorities should take up the production of text-books." The Government should, however, undertake the responsibility for organising educational research which will offer material for the production of better text-books and general reading books, such as research in children's interests and attainments at various levels, in the gradation of language material needed in language text-books, in the types of questions and exercises that would be useful to pupils, etc The Government, in consultation with the teachers concerned, should lay down the minimum standards and requirements of the text-books for different grades. Then several text-books which fulfil the conditions should be actually tried for a year and the results carefully evaluated. The most satisfactory text-books thus found should be recommended and the schools allowed to choose their own text-books out of the approved list

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affiliated colleges........ .. The total number of students receiving general education at the University stage stood at 3,23,882 as against 1,83,238 in 1947-48 Thus the enrolment registered an increase of over 70 per cent during 1947-52."[25]

But this quantitative expansion, in the absence of any qualitative improvement in University education, cannot be regarded as satisfactory Most of the defects of University education before Independence continue unremedied Indeed, some problems like those of indiscipline, low standards, intrigues among University men, etc., seem to be increasing in spite of the tightening of Government control over Universities through the amendment of a few University Acts.

The problems of University education have been thoroughly studied after Independence by the Radhakrishnan University Education Commission whose report we have already discussed in an earlier chapter. But most of its valuable recommendations have not been carried out except by the Central Universities in a half-hearted manner. Standards everywhere are deplorably low, the members of the staff are either overworked or inadequately interested in study and research; the Universities are over-burdened with too large a number of unsuitable students because of the absence of diversified courses at the secondary stage, a University degree is still regarded as a passport to Government employment, young men after their University education cannot always be usefully employed— these and a host of other problems are still awaiting a satisfactory solution.

While the problems mentioned above have not been solved, there are also a few healthy trends which need encouragement. Several Universities have introduced new

[25] *Progress of Education in India* (1947-52), p 110.

Text-Book Research Bureau and a Bureau of Vocational and Educational Guidance. Improvement in the quality of text-books is essential, if Secondary education is to improve In view of the proposed diversification of courses, it is equally important to ensure that pupils select their courses according to their aptitudes, tastes and abilities. The Central Bureau of Vocational and Educational Guidance will offer all possible help to the State Governments to set up their own Bureaux of Vocational and Educational Guidance. It has also been suggested that each State may set up a Board with the object of surveying employment opportunities in its area and make the necessary information available to all headmasters of secondary schools The Central Minister of Education has been contemplating[24] the setting up of a Council of Secondary Education to review the progress of Secondary education through-out the country and serve as an expert body to advise the Government about the improvement and expansion of Secondary education in all its phases.

We thus see that steps are rapidly being taken to reorganise Secondary education in the country

PROGRESS IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The short period after Independence has registered a great quantitative expansion of University education in India. The number of Universities just before the partition of the country was 21, but by 1952 this number had increased to 30 While the total expenditure on University education multiplied three-fold, the enrolment increased by about 70 per cent. during the first five years of Independence. "The total number of Universities in 1952 was 30 with 261 teaching departments, 157 constituent colleges and 609

[24] Maulana Azad's address to the Central Advisory Board of Education as reported in *The Hindustan Times* of Jan 14, 1955

remain the medium of instruction at least in some subjects in order to avoid a lowering of standards This period of transition should not be unduly prolonged, because a language develops only by being used. If Indian languages are not used for the communication of all kinds of ideas, they are not likely to develop adequately to be suitable media of instruction at any stage. The chief difficulty is about technical and scientific terms. If international technical and scientific terms are freely borrowed, Hindi and some other Indian languages can be quite suitable media of higher education

While English should go as a medium of instruction, provision for the study of the English language and literature should be made at the Secondary and University stages in India Indeed, for historical reasons, English must remain in India, for a long time to come, more important than any other foreign language.

With regard to the claims of the National and regional languages to the position of the medium of instruction at the University stage, the decision should be left to the Universities themselves Hindi will certainly help the co-ordination of research work among different Universities and facilitate the exchange of professors and students. But where any other regional language is made the medium of instruction, an adequate command of Hindi should be made compulsory for all

In spite of these trends, it cannot be denied that the progress of University education in India after Independence has been qualitatively the most unsatisfactory of all. The real solution is not the assumption of greater powers by the Central or State Governments where political considerations are likely to predominate, but the appointment of a powerful University Grants Commission consisting of the best, non-political, academic talents of the country. Fortunately a University Grants Commission already

courses, particularly in fields allied with the study of Indian culture and languages. The Government of India have instituted two schemes of scholarships at the Central Universities:

(i) The award at each Central University of a scholarship of Rs. 75/- per month to a student for the study of Arabic or Persian up to the Degree standard from the Intermediate level, and a similar scholarship for the study of Sanskrit or Pali,

(ii) The award of two prizes every year to two candidates selected on merit at each of the Central Universities for the study of each of the languages, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. In addition to these cash prizes, each candidate will be permitted to tour selected places in the language area concerned for study.

Again, India's participation in international affairs demands that there must be men and women with specialized knowledge of the languages and cultures of all the important regions of the world Before Independence, our Universities did not make adequate provision for the study of these, although some provision existed for studying the civilization and culture of Europe A beginning has, however, now been made by taking steps to establish an institute for the study of Asian languages and culture at Banaras University, an institute for the study of the languages and culture of the Middle East at Aligarh University and a school of African studies at Delhi University.

Another healthy trend in University education after Independence has been the increasing use of Hindi or regional languages as a medium of instruction and examination. There are no two opinions about the desirability of doing away with English as the medium of education at the University stage. The controversy is about the period of transition during which English may be allowed to

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exists in India, and efforts are being made to give it statutory recognition Only its composition should be on a basis which commands the respect of all.

Again, every University in India should also undertake programmes of social service, extension lectures, short evening courses, etc, for the benefit of the surrounding community which should be made to feel that the University exists not only for the higher education of privileged classes but also for the benefit of all.

Education for Rural Areas

In a land where 87 per cent. of the people live in villages, the problem of rural education should have received the greatest attention But for various reasons the British confined their educational efforts to the cities or their district headquarters and generally neglected the villages. Even the schools, primary and middle, that were established in some villages were urban in character, unsuited to the life and needs of the villagers. The result was that the few children who studied in these schools began to look down upon village life and were anxious to migrate to the cities at the earliest opportunity. The secondary schools and Universities of the country as a whole have significantly failed to make any contribution whatsoever to the betterment of the rural population in India. Towards the end of British rule, however, Mahatma Gandhi's original Basic Education Scheme was mainly intended to provide a suitable kind of elementary education for the people in rural areas. But, as we have seen, Basic schools in rural areas are not even now adequate in number or satisfactory in quality.

The problem of higher education for rural areas has not yet received adequate attention The Radhakrishnan University Education Commission discussed the problem

of Rural Universities, but relegated the chapter to the end of the report and made no concrete recommendations as they did in the case of other problems. The idea has, however, been taken up by others and a few rural Universities, like those of Wardha and Sardarshahar have been established. But they may be called Universities only by courtesy. A University cannot be imposed from the top, but must grow from below A rural University should be the highest stage of that system of education which has Junior Basic schools at its lowest end. In the absence of suitable institutions of all grades below the University level, a rural University is meaningless.

The Government of India appointed in October, 1954, a Committee of four specialists to study the problems of higher rural education in India. This Committee has made a few important recommendations.[*] The peculiar needs of rural areas require certain special types of educational institutions where the courses, research and extension work will be more closely and directly related to rural problems The existing Universities and colleges are not suitable. The Committee suggests the establishment of a network of Lok Vidyapeeths all over the country on the lines of the Danish Folk High Schools with necessary adjustments to suit local conditions Side by side with the Lok Vidyapeeths, rural institutes† rather than rural Universities should be established. It is visualized that some of these rural institutes will ultimately grow into rural Universities but their development must be an organic growth related at every step to the needs of the rural community.

The Committee has suggested courses of varying

* I have not yet seen the report, but have read a synopsis in *The Hindustan Times* of February 27, 1955

† It is not clear from the report in *The Hindustan Times* how exactly these rural institutes will differ from *Lok Vidyape*[illegible] They appear to be institutions of higher education corres[illegible] to colleges in the citi[illegible]

duration, problems for research and the scope and nature of extension work which should be undertaken by rural institutes Adequate emphasis has been laid on the rural environment and the economic, social and cultural needs of rural society. The language requirements will be the regional language, Hindi and English Paid jobs will be available for needy students and will, as far as possible, be related to the nature of their courses of study

With regard to examinations, the Committee suggests a definite shift from written tests to assessment on the basis of cumulative records of practical and social activities of the students

The rural institutes should be residential in character, both for boys and girls and for the staff.

In order to promote the development of rural institutes, a special division in the Central Ministry of Education should be created There should also be established a National Council of Higher Education and State Councils of Higher Education for Rural Areas The main sources of income for rural institutes will be the Central and State Governments, the students, the local people, and philanthropy. Rural institutes should also undertake productive activities to improve the economy of the community and to provide some income for the institutes The Committee estimated that a properly constituted rural institute will incur an annual recurring expenditure of Rs.5,50,000/- and a capital investment of Rs 65,00,000/-

In the absence of fuller details it is not possible to make any helpful comments on the recommendations of the Committee on Higher Education for Rural Areas It is, however, gratifying to note that the problems of rural education in India have begun to receive the attention of both the Central and State Governments.

Social Education

With the establishment of Unesco, the conception of Fundamental Education as an essential condition for the prosperity of communities has been increasingly realised. Experience indicated that no programme of Adult Education would be complete or satisfying unless the content of education was changed to meet all adult requirements. So after Independence, India revised its old programme of Adult Education and made it more comprehensive. To differentiate it from the old programme of Adult Education, and to bring out clearly that its aim is to create a sense of community, "Social Education" was the name chosen for this new programme. We have already discussed the scope of Social Education in an earlier chapter.

An interesting development after Independence was the establishment of contacts between Adult Education programmes in various Asian countries In 1949, the International Seminar on Rural Adult Education for Community Action was held at Mysore under the joint sponsorship of the Government of India and Unesco. It was the first occasion when educationists from various Asian countries met together to discuss common problems and frame common solutions The Seminar recommended that the Government of India should be responsible "for (a) co-ordinating research undertaken in various parts of the country; (b) conducting all-India Seminars for promoting studies in various problems of Adult Education, and (c) establishing a centre for the production of simple literacy material. In addition, the Central Government should set up advisory bodies for making, purchasing and exchanging films and filmstrips, and encouraging the production of such and other visual aids"[27]

[27] *Progress of Education in India (1947-1952)*, p 144

"The Seminar also recommended that State Governments should establish special Departments to conduct, stimulate and co-ordinate activities connected with Rural Adult Education. They should also conduct Regional Seminars and training courses for literacy teachers, prepare reading material, including follow-up literature and provide adequate literacy facilities in rural areas. In respect of aids the State Governments should supplement the programme of the Centre and prepare and encourage the preparation of material suited to local conditions."[28]

The programme of Social Education has been considerably expanded in recent years. The Central Government has a scheme for the expansion of education by the employment of new teachers in elementary schools and of social workers in selected centres in urban areas. This is also intended to relieve the pressure of educated unemployment. In his address[29] to the Central Advisory Board of Education in January, 1955, Maulana Azad said, "I am glad to tell you that under this scheme a total of about 66,000 teachers and 2,000 social workers have been allotted to various States upto November, 1954."

One of the main obstacles to the expansion of Social education in the past has been the paucity of suitable literature. The Government of India have, therefore, undertaken a special programme for encouraging the production of suitable literature They have initiated a scheme to guarantee to publishers and writers a minimum sale of books which are of the requisite quality. In addition, prizes are also offered to authors of specially good books. "In October 1954, 35 books in 14 Indian languages received Governmental recognition or awards."[30] The

[28] *Progress of Education in India*, p. 144
[29] Reported in *The Hindustan Times* of January 14, 1955
[30] Maulana Azad's address to the Central Advisory Board of Education in January 1955, as reported in *The Hindustan Times* of January 14, 1955.

and abroad, financing visits and maintenance of Chairs of Indology in South East Asia and the Middle East."[32]

Soon after Independence the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco was established as an interim measure. Later on, its constitution was revised and a permanent Commission was established in 1952. "The establishment of the National Commission was a visible symbol of the importance of international exchange in the field of culture and of the recognition that the cause of freedom, peace, and progress depends upon the education of the younger generation and closer contacts between all peoples in education, science and culture."[33]

The Indian National Commission has been initiating seminars and symposia and has been pressing for adoption by Unesco as well as the Member States of Asian origin, a project for preparing translations of national classics for one another's use, and for better understanding of Asian contributions by people in the Western world.

That Indian efforts in this direction are succeeding is clear from a large number of scholarships and fellowships or travel grants that have been recently instituted on a reciprocal basis for the study of Indian students in foreign countries and for the study of foreign students in India. The United Nations has placed at the disposal of the Government of India a number of fellowships for training and observation in various fields of social work. Unesco has also assisted in the improvement of facilities for Technical education by offering fellowships to visiting professors under its own Technical Assistance Programme and by offering fellowships and stipends to promising young scholars who would replace them in course of time. The United States Educational Foundation in India, established

[32] *Progress of Education in India* (1947-52) p. 191
[33] ibid., p. 192

in 1950, has been promoting the exchange of teachers and students between the United States of America and India

The Government of India has also a scheme of cultural scholarships under which a number of scholars from Asian and African countries have been awarded scholarships for further training and education in Indian Universities and institutions of higher learning. A number of cultural missions from foreign countries have visited India and our own missions have gone abroad Exhibitions of Indian Art have been organised in a number of countries, and some countries have organised an exhibition of their art in India

There has been in operation for several years the Modified Overseas Scholarships Scheme, now confined only to selected teachers of the Universities The object of the Scheme is to strengthen the Teaching Departments so that the need to go abroad for studies in special subjects may progressively diminish During 1947-1952, "eighty-three scholars visited four countries, namely, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France and Germany, under one or other of the Modified Overseas Scholarships Scheme."[31]

The last two years have been marked by intense and varied activity in the field of culture A National Academy of Letters, the *Sahitya Akademi*, was set up in March, 1954 and a National Academy of Fine Arts, the *Lalit Kala Akademi*, in August, 1954 The National Gallery of Modern Art was also opened in March, 1954 A delegation of Indian artists was sent to the U. S. S. R. and a cultural troupe was received from China In addition, India participated in several international cultural conferences and sponsored art and cultural exhibitions to various countries.

A number of youth camps have also been organised throughout the country. 'These are intended to give our young men and women in high schools and colleges an

[31] *Progress of Education in India (1947-52)*, p 193.

opportunity of living together and participating in various forms of creative and social activities. More than 300 such camps have already been held and more are planned in the coming months In a sense, the culmination of such programmes for the youth of the country was the organization of an All-India Youth Festival in which students from almost all Indian Universities participated."[35]

"The Festival, which gave an opportunity to a large number of young men and women from all parts of India to live together in a common fellowship, is bound to strengthen the bond of unity among them and develop in our youth the consciousness of our Indian heritage."[36]

These activities of the Government of India have been very helpful in bringing about a better understanding and closer contact between India and most other countries of the world for mutual benefit.

Education of the Handicapped and Backward Classes

Commendable efforts have been made after Independence to educate the handicapped in India, though these efforts cannot be regarded as adequate in view of the actual needs of the country. Something has been done for the blind and the deaf, but hardly anything has been done for the benefit of other types of physically, mentally or socially handicapped people Systematic efforts should be made to discover the handicapped children and then to do for them all that is possible. With proper care and education most of our handicapped people can lead a useful and happy life instead of being a burden on society.

Greater efforts have also been made to educate the backward classes of India. In 1947, the total money spent to encourage education among the Scheduled Castes, Sche-

[35] Maulana Azad's address to the Central Advisory Board of Education in January, 1955 as reported in *The Hindustan Times* of Jan 14, 1955

[36] ibid

duled Tribes and other backward classes by way of scholarships amounted to 8.5 lakhs. The provision has been increased year by year after Independence, amounting in 1954-55 to the sum of Rs. 1,07,00,000. The number of beneficiaries under the scheme has also increased from 600 in 1947-48 to about 20,000 in 1954-55.[7]

Propagation and Development of Hindi

Hindi having been declared the national language of India, efforts are being made both by the Central and State Governments to promote its study. Special Hindi classes have been started in many places for non-Hindi-speaking Government employees. Hindi dictionaries, lists of technical and scientific terms, translations of standard works into Hindi, etc., have been in active preparation for several years now. Grants-in-aid have been given to several Hindi publishers like the Sahityakar Sansad, Allahabad, the Hindi Bhawan, New Delhi, the Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Banaras, etc., for publishing standard books in Hindi. Authors of good books in Hindi have also been offered cash rewards and the Government have agreed to buy a certain number of copies of the books thus approved.

While the efforts of the Government and private institutions to promote the study of Hindi are commendable, there are a few extremists who are doing the greatest harm to the cause of Hindi in India. They are very impatient and desire to thrust a difficult form of "Sanskritised" Hindi down unwilling throats. Indeed, their narrow approach has led to a good deal of opposition to Hindi, specially in the South. A simple form of Hindi which freely borrows suitable words from other regional languages and which

[7] Maulana Azad's address to the Central Advisory Board of Education in January, 1955, as reported in *The Hindustan Times* of January 14, 1955.

can truly express the composite culture of India should be studied. This language will be easier for non-Hindi speaking people to learn. International scientific and technical terms should be commonly used in Hindi and other regional languages. It is most undesirable to try to invent Hindi words for 'station', 'train', 'signal', etc., which are already commonly understood by most Indians. For future generations, Hindi should be made a compulsory language at the secondary and higher stages side by side with the mother tongue or regional language. Provision should also be made in secondary schools and colleges for the study of the English language and literature for those who desire to study them.

Foreign Agencies in Indian Education

Throughout the entire modern period of Indian history foreign agencies have done considerable work in the field of education. The missionaries from several countries all along vied with the British Government in providing educational facilities for Indians. The British Council after Independence has also done valuable work through its schemes of scholarships, libraries and reading rooms, art exhibitions, seminars and its periodical called *Teaching English,* specially for the benefit of Indian teachers of English. But these agencies generally have had their own programmes which they carried out in this country with the approval of the Government of India. In recent times, however, a few foreign agencies like the Ford Foundation, the United States Educational Foundation and the United States Information Service have offered us financial help in carrying out the educational plans and programmes prepared by ourselves. The Ford Foundation, for example, has provided funds for some of our own educational projects such as the following:

i) The tour of the International Team and the publication of its report,
ii) The Seminars of the Secondary School headmasters to discuss the implementation of some of the major recommendations about the reform in Secondary education,
iii) A study tour of Denmark by a selected group of 18 heads of rural training colleges and social educationists from project areas,
iv) The study of significant experiments in higher rural education by a team of two Indians, one American and one Briton,
v) The programmes of 'Extension Services' to be undertaken by training colleges for the benefit of the teachers of the secondary schools in their own areas, etc.

The United States Educational Foundation also has been organising 'Workshops in Secondary Education' at several places like Ranchi, Udaipur, Hyderabad, etc, for discussion, by the secondary school headmasters in India, of some of the problems of reorganising Secondary education in the country All these efforts are very commendable, for which free India is sincerely grateful Some of these foreign agencies have been mentioned by way of example of a new trend, simply because information about their activities has been readily available.

Critical Observations

The short period after Independence has registered an all-round quantitative expansion of education There has been not only a great increase in the expenditure on education in the country as a whole, but the number of scholars in all types of institutions has also increased considerably. But as far as the quality of education has been concerned there is hardly any improvement. Indeed, the quality seems to

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have deteriorated because of indiscriminate expansion in the absence of adequate personnel and equipment.

With the financial help from the Centre, most of the States have made commendable progress in the expansion of Basic education. New Basic schools in large numbers have been started and many old primary schools have been converted into the Basic type Suitable areas have been selected in most States as pilot projects for intensive development in the spheres of Basic and Social education, from the elementary to the University stage But for inadequacy of funds, it is not likely that we shall be able to fulfil our constitutional obligation to bring into schools all children between the ages of 6 and 14 years within the specified period. The First Five-Year Plan has concentrated on strengthening the economic base through industrial and agricultural improvement and has provided a comparatively small amount of money for educational development Moreover, people have been guided more by their enthusiasm for Basic education than by a proper understanding of its problems Many Basic schools are Basic only in name. They have introduced one craft as an additional subject and provide the Junior Basic course of five years only But a real Basic school should provide an integrated course of eight years with a craft serving as a centre of all study. Again, several rural Universities have also come into existence, but they are hardly calculated to provide for the needs of higher education in rural areas A rural University should be the culmination of that integrated system at the lowest end of which are the Junior Basic schools The Rural Higher Education Committee has, therefore, recommended the establishment of rural institutes some of which may later develop into rural Universities. In the sphere of Secondary education, the Government of India are seriously trying to implement the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission and the International Team by providing

funds for the improvement of secondary schools and for the conversion of some of them into multi-purpose schools. The secondary stage marks the completion of studies for most of our students, and the introduction of a large variety of courses at this stage is bound to fulfil a long-felt need of our people.

Improvements in University education after Independence have been the least satisfactory of all. There has, however, been made in some Universities greater provision for higher technical education, for the teaching of Indian classical languages and literature, and for the study of several foreign languages

The Government of India have also shown greater interest in the education of the handicapped and backward tribes and year by year they are providing increasing funds for the purpose. Cultural contacts have also been established with several countries. In short, the period after Independence has been marked by greater consciousness of the need for educational reforms in the country. Larger funds have made a more rapid expansion of education possible Serious efforts are being made to remove some of the chief defects, though our success in this respect leaves much to be desired. It is, however, hoped that in the future five-year plans much larger funds will be available for a more systematic re-organisation and expansion of education in India.

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